

The Discoverer.
VVHEREIN IS SET FORTH
(to undeceive the Nation) the
reall Plots and Stratagems of Lievt. Col.
John Lilburn, M^r William Walwyn, M^r Tho-
mas Prince, M^r Richard Overton, and that
partie. And their severall seditious wayes
and wiles a long time practised by them
to accomplish and effect the same.

Namely, Under the pretence and colour of LI-
BERTIE, and to take off the *Burdens* and *Grie-*
vances of the People, a most dangerous and de-
structive designe is carried on to deprive the Na-
tion of their *Religion, Rights, Liberties, Proprieties,*
Laws, Government, &c. and to bring a totall and
universall ruine upon the Land. And so much is
here clearely proved.

Rom. 16. 17, 18.

Marke them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the do-
ctrine which yee have learned, and avoyd them : For they that are
such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good
words and faire speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.

The First Part.

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Councell of State.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

FROM: [illegible]

SUBJECT: [illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

THE
Councell of State
 To all the well-affected Peo-
 ple of this N A T I O N.



As no Nation hath met with more dangerous ene-
 mies, and against whom, greater, sorer, and deep-
 er designs and plots have been attempted for
 the ruine and destruction thereof, then against
 this Common-wealth: so (all things duly con-
 sidered) there is no people under Heaven unto
 whom the Lord hath vouchsafed greater delive-
 rances: And as we thankfully observe the good hand of the Lord go-
 ing alwayes along with us, so we are perswaded from the feeling ex-
 perience of former mercies, that he will never leave us untill he have
 perfected his good worke, marvellously begun in the Land.

And howsoever, we know the Almighty God without men or
 meanes, is sufficient to carry on his own worke, and to effect the same,
 when, and how, as it seemeth good in his sight: Nevertheless, we
 take our selves bound, in obedience to him, and of dutie and trust to the
 Nation, both to foresee the danger, and to provide all seasonable and
 lawfull helpes for the timely prevention thereof.

Now whereas among other Artifices and cunning courses, whereby
 this Generation of men (going under the name of Levellers) have
 corrupted and deceived the minds of people, and drawn them to dis-
 affect the present Government, and to make Commotions and hurli-
 burlies in the Land. One main and speciall way hath been, by spread-
 ing seditious and scandalous Bookes, wherein are many faire pre-

THE PREFACE.

tences of Libertie, freedom, safetie, &c. with much regret, tenderness, and fellow-feeling of the Oppressions, Burdens, and Taxes of the People.

This being so, and a thing well knowne to us, wee have thought it necessary to afford our Encouragement and furtherance, that something in the like way of writing should be published to undeceive the People, by a true, plaine, and full discovery of the deceits and falsehoods of these men: and that it may most evidently appeare to all judicious and rationall People, that wheresoever in their Papers and Pamphlets, they most shew themselves to be lovers of their Country, and profess greatest desire to have all things well settled, even there under Good words they metely deceive the simple, and carry on a trayterous designe, against the peace, freedom, and safetie of the Nation.

And wee have the more hope that this worke will doe much good in the Land, because there is nothing here produced upon hear-lay, or taken up as a report from others (howsoever much could be spoken this way, and for their prooffe it is little else) but all out of their own Bookes, which are extant, and in many mens hands, so that what conspiracie, sedition, treason, or other mischiefs are here discovered and charged upon them: themselves are brought in, (even their own mouths and hands) as witnesses.

For the rest which is to follow, as wee wish it forth, so wee shall further the expedition what we can. For the searcher of all hearts doth know our sense, our sighs and deepe apprehensions, that any honest and simple-hearted should be mis-led and ensnared by such pernicious men: But as for such, as are thus single and sincere, we make no question but by comparing things with things, they will now see a great deale of seditious plotting and conspiring against our Religion, Lawes, Libertie, &c. which before they saw not, because covered with the specious pretence of seeking to settle the Common-wealth upon Ground of peace, freedom, and safetie.

The



The Discoverer.

Wherein is set forth (to un-deceive the Nation) the *real plots* and *Stratagems* of Lievt: Col. *John Lilburn*, M^r *William Walwyn*, M^r *Thomas Prince*, M^r *Richard Overton*, and that *Partie*: And the severall seditious wayes and wyles a long time practised by them, to accomplish and effect the same; Namely, under the pretence and colour of *Libertie*, and to take off the *Burdens* and *Grievances* of the *Common-wealth*, a most destructive designe is carried on, to deprive the people of their *Religion, Rights, Proprieties, Freedome, Lawes, Government, &c.* and to bring a totall and universall ruine upon the Land. And so much is here clearly demonstrated, by reason and prooffe abundantly.

The First Part.



S all vices use to clothe themselves with the habits of vertues, that under those *Liveries* they may get countenance, and find the more access in the world: so especially in a *Common wealth* *Treason* and *Sedition* doe commonly present themselves under this colour and cloake; taking up the *Politick* pretence of *Native birth-right, common freedome and safety*, as a weapon of meer advantage, whereby ambitious, discontented, and self-conceited men, use to make *Commotions*, and *Mutinies*, and to disturb (if not destroy) the present *Government*.

B

And

^a *Palam speciosa prætixunt nomina & libertatem præse ferunt, durumque & invisum servitutis jugum detestantur.*

Frid. Wendellin Instit. Polit. l. 3. c. 2. Theol. 8. p. 494
^b 2 Sam. 15.

^c History of Flor: and Ven.
^d *Sleiden Comment. l. b. 5.*

^e The picture of the Council of State, second Edition, pag. 14.

^f A Declaration of the free Commoners of England.

And this is well knowne unto all men, who have any knowledge in Historie, whether humane or divine, ancient or modern, forrein or domestick; that under the plausible, sweet, and much-taking name of ^a LIBERTY, with crying out against Tyranny, Arbitrary power, Taxes, Oppressions, &c. Many pernicious plots have been carried on, to the great hurt and prejudice of the whole Nation: yea, and unawares many honest and well-meaning people, have been brought into a snare and pit. Like those who followed *Abolom* in that unnaturall conspiracy against his father, ^b *in their simplicitie, and they knew not any thing.*

Thus the *Pazzians* at Florence to draw the people to their Conspiracy, ^c *Cried out in the Market place, Libertie, Libertie,* although indeed it was to bring them from freedom to very slavery. So *Munster* seeking the ruine of *Germanie*, and to raise himselfe and his Confederates out of the dust and ashes thereof, laid this down as his principle; ^d *Free Commoners, an equall and just Government, and every man a like in respect of libertie, freedom, and safetie.* And this pleased the multitude so well, that they followed him in rebellion and treason against the State, till at last falling under the hand of Justice, came to see and acknowledge their great wickednesse.

We shall not mention any thing now out of our own Stories, but come to the *Sowers of discord and sedition* amongst us. That these men complaine against tyranny, oppression, slavery, Jurisdiction of the sword, &c. and ^e call on people in all places to *joyne with them against Robbers, Theeves, Rebels, Murderers, for the Settlement of this Common wealth, upon the foundations of an equall and just Government.* It is well known, and so much their papers and writings doe declare. So that the worke which we have here taken in hand, is to Represent (in way of A DISCOVERY) to the Nation, what mischief and misery lies hid (as a dunghill under snow, or a hooke covered with a bait) and is daily acted and cunningly carried on, under a faire pretence of seeking the *publique good*: and this we shall doe (by the good hand of God assisting us) in a temperate and sober way, leaving opprobrious and bitter speeches to such men who having a bad cause cannot otherwise uphold the same.

But before we come to particulars, we shall observe some few
generall

generall things, as giving much light to our present Discoverie.

1. Prudentiall and wise *Statists* and *Politicians* have well observed, that a conspiracy or sedition lies hatching a while like the Cockatrice eggs, and usually before it breakes forth, it discovers it selfe by certain symptoms or signes: and these ten are noted as most especiall and un-failable. 1. *Private Conventicles*. 2. *Calumniation* and vile aspertions. 3. *Complaints*. 4. *A professed hatred against some men in authoritie*. 5. *A dislike and contempt of the present Government*. 6. *Threatnings*. 7. *Contradictions*. 8. *Discontent at the change of Magistrates*. 9. *Putting obstructions to the execution of the Law*. 10. *Troubling and disquieting the minds of the vulgar sort*. That these, even all of them, are in those men, and not a little, but as clearly to be seen, as was *Gebazi's* Leprosie on the forehead, we shall manifest in this following *Treatise*, and doe desire the Reader to take good notice of it; for doing so, he shall the better know the tree by the fruit.

2. That they may bring themselves into the esteem and favour of the people, they pretend and make an outward shew, as if no men in the Land were so tender and sensible as they, of the heavie burdens of the Nation, and seeke to have the people dis-affected towards the present Government and Governours; by false and slanderous insinuations, as if the Parliament might and could ease them, of Tithes, Excise, Free Quarter, and other Taxes and grievances, and will not. But this is no new thing; for *Abulom* did the like long agoe; ^h *Ob that I were made Judge in the Land*: Good soule, how he pitties the people, and grieves to thinke that there are no better men in place; and were he on his Fathers throne, the Kingdome should be settled upon the grounds of Common Right, Freedome, and Safetie. But for answer to their accusation, which is both false and treacherous.

False; for 1. Not onely hath the Parliament declared at sundry times, that there shall lie upon the people no burden which they possibly can remove: but likewise it is their worke and daily study, to improve all lawfull wayes and meanes, to the utmost of their power, for the settlement and constitution of this Common-wealth, in safety, peace, and freedome.

B 2

2. For

& In latibulis
 suis indaganda
 hec fera, qua
 plerumq; ante-
 quam exeat,
 aliquibus se
 prodit indici-
 is: nempe elan-
 destinis conven-
 tibus, calūniis,
 querelis, pro-
 fessione odii,
 presentis sta-
 tus fastidio &
 cōtēptu minis,
 contradicōtio-
 nibus, muta-
 tionibus à ma-
 gistratu immi-
 nentis exagger-
 atione, obsta-
 culis legi ex-
 ecutionis positis,
 & turba me-
 re vulgi. Frid.
 Wendellin:
 Instit. Pol. l. 3.
 c. 2. p. 494.
 h 2 Sam. 15. 4.

ⁱ Ad impossibi-
le nemo obligari. l. si quis
in gravi a Syl-
lan.

^k Rationes ra-
tionales pro je-
gibus amplex-
tendunt. L. Cum
Ratio de boni-
damus.

^l In necessitati-
bus leges non
servari. l. ut
gradatim, sect.
1. de Man. &
honor.

^m Omne incō-
modum aliquo
commodo com-
pensandum. l. 1.
sect. fin. de a-
qua plu.

2. For the things which they complaine of, as the Oppres-
sions and Burdens of the people ; If the particulars be rightly
understood, as Taxes, Tithes, Excise, and the rest ; truly more
for the present cannot be done : and if men would but consider
in what condition wee are, and how matters stand with us,
both at home and abroad, they would not blame the Parlia-
ment for this grievance, or that burden, which as yet cannot be
otherwise, nor remedied : These are Rules and Maximes in Law,
Reason and Nature. ⁱ No man can be bound to an impossibilitie.
Likewise, ^k Naturall Reasons are to be received for Lawes. So a-
gaine, ^l In necessitie the Law lawfully may be broken. And ^m there
is no discommoditie, but both amends made with some commoditie.
All which holds true here, and rightly may be applyed.

3. And let it be well observed, how their practice here for all
the world, is as if a man should binde another, hand and foote,
and afterward beat him, because he doth not goe. Who but these
men are the chiefe obstructors of Reformation, and the settle-
ment of the Common-wealth, and by their conspiracies and
treacherous designs, increase the Grievances and Burdens of
the people : and then strike the Governours, because the work
is not done. It can be prov'd, if need be, that the Land is put to
an hundred thousand pounds yearly charge by their meanes,
besides much prejudice and sufferings otherwayes : and there-
fore the free Commoners of England have just cause to declare and
pronounce against this Faction, for oppression and crueltie exercised
upon their fellow-brethren ; and that Excise, Sessments, Fre-
Quarter, &c. are the longer continued, and things tending to
publick good not don, because of them.

It is a notable shift sometimes practised by an old thiefe, be-
ing pursued with hue and cry, to cry out, *Stop the thiefe, stop the
thiefe* ; thinking that no body surely will suspect him to be the
man, whilst they heare him to cry out thus after another.
These men have learnt such a trick ; Lord, what a noyse they
make against Tyranny, Oppression, Crueltie, &c. Charging o-
thers therewithall ; supposing, no doubt, that no man will ima-
gine that they are the THIEVES, the Tyrants, Oppres-
sours, Murderers : howsoever the truth is, the Robberie is com-
mitted by themselves.

2. Treacherous, to conspire against the *Supream Authoritie of England*, and to stirre up the people, *to declare and protest against the same*; yea, to move *Souldiers as well as others to rise up against the Parliament-men*, as so many professed traytors, theeves, robbers, and high-way-men, and to apprehend, secure, and bring them to Justice in a new Representative: And all this, for no other cause, but because such things are not don, which at the present they cannot doe, yea more for such burdens and sufferings which by their occasion and meanes are necessarily increased and continued in the Land.

ⁿ Picture of the Councell of State, pag. 14.

^o A Declaration of the free Commoners of England.

3. Whosoever shall peruse their Pamphlets, shall see that they alwayes speake high words, and give out the reproachfull termes, and vilest expressions that ever mouth uttered: Even as the swine spareth not his mouth from any filthy and unclean thing; so they spare none, whatsoever their worth, place, or deservings be, if they stand in opposition to their designe: they are Tyrants, Nimrods, Beasts, Beares, Wolves, a pack of fawning and damning knaves: The Parliament for seeking to suppress their treacherous and dangerous plots, are said to be *the greatest Traytors that ever were in this Nation, a dead and stinking carcasse; a factious company of men, treacherously combined together, to subdue the Lawes, libertie, and freedom of England: Greater Tyrants then ever the King was, or that cruell Tyrant Duke D'Alva: bloody Queene Mary (in comparison) was a Saint to these men*. All their Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Declarations, and Acts, or that hereafter they shall passe; they declare and protest against, as not binding to the people.

^p Picture of the Councell of State, second Edition. p. 14. 17.

^q A Declaration of the free Commoners of England.

It is farre from our purpose to render evill for evill, or rayling for rayling: to undeceive the people by a plaine and true Discoverie of them, is the thing we onely ayme at. And for this end we desire it may be here observed.

1. It hath been the common practice of such men formerly, wanting Reason, to use Rayling: as sroward men in suits of Law when their case fails, endeavour to piece it up with rage and passion: Or like Cocks feeding upon garlick, overcome others with ranknesse of breath, not with streng h o' body.

2. Although there have been in all ages some who have despised dominion, and spake evill of dignities: yet we may affirme it with

with all confidence, that there is no president or example of any who have been formerly so immoderate, and such excessive ray-
lers against the highest and supreme Authoritie of a Nation as
these men are. When people are sincere, and are indeed against
all tyranny and oppression, and for Common-right, freedom,
and safetie, God is with their mouth, and gives them what they
shall speake, and it is not his manner to leave them to such a
fittull and most abhorred course. There is a Beast called *Duron*,
being pursued, and seeing no way to escape, by a naturall craft
casteth forth her dung against the hunters following her, and so
hinders them from coming neer, by reason of the corrupt smell
and stinke thereof. It would be a pretty devise, if these men a-
gainst whom the Parliament is now proceeding, could by cast-
ing forth reproaches and vile slanders, escape out of their
hands.

Justin. Insti.
l. 1. Tit. 10.

Probatones
debent esse luce
clariore. L.
Sciart C.

Testes singu-
lares non pro-
bant.

Testis depo-
nens de auditu
non probat.

Testis debet
deponere per
corporis sen-
suum, & non
judicium in-
tellectus. l.

Test. c. & l.
qui Test. n.
test. Am. F.
de Test.

Nocens esse
nemo poterit
si accusasse
sufficiet.

Municipal
vulgus proxi-
ad suspitiones.
Tac. Hist. 11.

3. Howsoever their accusations are heavie and many, yet their
proofes are still light and few: usually it is *Domesticum Testimo-*
nium, or *hearsay*, or their own supposing, grounded upon no like-
lihood or probable Reason at all: or whatsoever is produced
for proofe, relates not to the matter for which it was brought:
and whosoever reads over their papers shall finde their dealing
to be thus every where. These men pretend much skill in the
Law, now the Law saith, *Proofes ought to be clearer then the noon-*
day: *Single testimonies prove nothing*: *a witness deposing upon*
hearsay is no proofe: *not what a man thinks, but knows, stands*
good in Law. It is a true saying, *None should be innocent, if it*
be enough, to accuse. How weak, uncertaine, improbable, yea
most untrue their proofes are, wee shall shew hereafter to the
full.

But 4. this reviling men in authoritie, and to call them ty-
rants, traitors, thieves, murderers, &c. is an old State-destroying
Stratagem. Mutineers and Incendiaries have made much use of
it, and had great advantage by it. *Machiavel* himselfe hath it,
and for example instanceth one *Manlius Capitolinus*, who be-
ing overcome with envie, and not able to endure the honour
and renown given by the Citizens of Rome to *Furius Camillus*
for his valour and good service, addresseth himselfe to the Com-
mon people, as well knowing their temper, *Prone to suspicion,*
desirous

^b desirous of every new motion, ^c and to judge things headily and rashly : and amongst them gives out many slanders and falsehoods, against some eminent and chiefe men, as to be Traytors, Tyrants, Theeves, &c. Whereupon the people run together, make head, and fill all places with tumults, and uproares, and no doubt great mischief would have followed, had not the Senate created a Dictator, who by examination found the treacherous conspiracie of Manlius.

^b *Vulgus cuiusq; motus novi Cupidum.* Tac. i. hist.

^c *Non dilectum aut sapientia ducitur ad iudicandum, sed impetu et quadam etiam temeritate.* Cic. pro. plane.

* *Macbiavels Discourses.* li. i. c. 8.

So againe speaking of Florence (his own Citie) * Such men (saith he) as had served the State best, and been employed in the greatest affaires, were most slandered : of one they said he had robd the Common treasure ; of another that he had not performed his trust in the Armie ; of another that through covetousnesse and ambition sought his own Interest : hence grew hatred, thereupon division, from division to faction, from faction to ruine. And a little after, And this course (saith he) namely, to raise up false reports against men in authoritie, is a ready way whereby many doe serve themselves, as steps and helpes to their ambitious ends : For being to encounter with powerfull men, they make the people their friends, by telling them they will take their part against the Tyrannicall Usurpation and Incroachment of Great ones, and procure their Rights and Freedome out of their hands. If we compare time with time, and things with things, we shall finde, that saying most true ; There is nothing new under the Sun ; as the plots, conspiracies, and treason of men now, are the very same with what formerly hath been, so the very way and course whereby former Incendiaries and Conspirators have used to effect the same, is at this day, and by this partie practised to a hair.

4. In the last place, we shall observe what they say ; ^d Could we have had any assurance that what is desired, should have otherwise or by any have been don, and had not had some taste of the relinquishment of many good things that were proposed, we should not have been so earnest for the doing thereof. To which we answer.

^d *Manifestation,* pag. 8.

1. Howsoever the Parliament hath sate long, and not so much don for publick good as hath been expected : neverthelesse, this cannot be justly charged upon the present House of Commons : for it is well known, the freedome and power, which now they have, it hath been but a little while in their hands : neither have they

they been long in that capacitie as now they are to manage and settle the affaires of the Common-wealth : whosoever therefore shall duly consider, the shortnesse of the time, the many oppositions, obstructions, and discouragements, which the Lord hath brought them through, and in what disorder and confusion things lately were, what divisions in the Land, and the many strong parties against them; and lastly, the many good things which they have don, he shall see more cause to blesse God for his goodnesse and mercy towards us, in preserving us from the snare and pit, then to murmur or complaine against men, because this, or that, is not also don. There may be no fault either in the Physick, or Physician, and yet the patient remaine longer sick, then he desires to be.

2. For the many good things which they speake of, we shall shew by and by what they are, as the dissolving of the Councell of State, breaking of the Army, neglecting and loosing Ireland, opening the Presse to all scandalous and seditious Libels, and turning the Land into a wilderness. For other things which truly tend to the freedom and safetie of the Common-wealth, the Parliament hath not Relinquished, nor any one of them, nor ever will : but daily endeavourerth, to free all men from all burdens and oppressions, and no doubt (as was said) the Peoples Enlargement and Comfort this way, would be much the sooner, were it not for the conspiracy and sedition of these men.

3. As delays are dangerous; so sometimes hast makes wast : *Festiva lente*, was *Augustus* Embleme. Great stones are not laid in the building without some time and great labour, because of their weight, but once placed remaine long. *Charles* King of *Naples* was surnamed *Cunctator*, *Delayer*, because he stayed till opportunitie was past : But *Fabius* the shield of *Rome*, was so called, because he onely stayed, till opportunitie was come.

From *Generals*, we come now to a more particular *Discoverie*. Till we saw their *Manifestation*, we could not well tell, nor hardly guesse, what for men in many things they would have the world thinke them to be. There indeed they^e professe that they beleve there is one eternall and omnipotent God, the author and preserver of all things in the world : And denie to be either *Atheists* or *Antiscripturists*. But what *Atheist* for advantage and to serve his

his own turne, will not professe as much, and more too? *Demosthenes* being asked what in speech was most effectually answered, *simplicity*, *hypocrisie*, and being demanded the second and third time, gave the same answer. Whether there be not *hypocrisie* here in their speech; Let these things be noted.

1. It is asserted by them, that *Reason is God*, and out of this *Reason* came the whole Creation.

2. The *immortalitie* of the soule they flatly deny, and scoff at such people as beleeve the soules immortalitie.

3. In the *Levellers Creed*, there is no *Jesus Christ*, no conception, birth, life, death, buriall, resurrection, or exaltation of such a one; No heaven nor hell, No Angel, good nor bad; No resurrection of the flesh; for to take it so in the letter (they say) is a dreame of our Preachers.

4. All that we call the history of the Scripture is an idol; for there is no other Adam, or Christ, Cain or Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Canaanites, Amalekites, Philistims: but what is seen and felt within every man. Hence they say, the publick Preachers have cheated the whole world, by telling us of a single man, called Adam, that killed us by eating a single fruit.

5. By their Principles men must leave off, all teaching and instructing each other. There is no use of Sermons, Sacraments, or prayer, Preachers are the curse, and the spreaders of the curse, standing ponds of stinking water; yea the zealous Preachers, are no other then *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Judas*, *Traitors*, *Witches*, *Sorcerers*, *Deceivers*: They and the people joyning together in publick worship is an abomination. Gathering Congregations, Church-fellowship, and all outward formes this (say the Levellers) is to betray Christ into the hands of flesh, a deceit of the Devill, the Government of the Beast, Antichristian captivitie, and tis to be under the tyrant flesh, a new bondage, a wrapping men in confusion, the mystery of iniquitie, and onely to hinder Christ the great Prophet from rising.

It hath formerly been held, that Religion, and the true worship of God, is much for the safetie and prosperitie of a Commonwealth, and mens departure from the practice thereof, and falling to hereticall, atheistical, and blasphemous wayes, brings Gods curse and plagues upon a Nation: and indeed the Heathens thought so too. When God is neglected, the Land is

C

Valerius
Max. l. 9.

New Law of
Righteousnes,
pag. 64.

Truth lifting
up his head
above scan-
dals, *pag. 2.*

See *Overtors*
booke concern-
ing this
thing.

New Law of
righteousnes,
p. 98, 99. 101.

New Law,
&c. p. 97.

New Law,
&c. p. 78.

New Law,
pag. 112.

Ibid. p. 115.

Ibid. 82.

Ibid. 135.

138, 139. 141,
142.

Ibid. 115.

Ibid. 121. 138.

Prosper a tue-
nunt colenti-
bus deos, ad-
versa spernex-
tibus, Liv.
lib. 5.

Religio negle-
cta aut prolap-
sa, traxit sem-
per remp: secū,
& trahit.

Lipsius Polit.
notx. in c. 3.
pag. 4.

Di multa neg-
lecti dederunt
hesperie mala
luctuose.

Horat.

corrected.

* Observe, how the German Leveles reproached the Ministers of that time, as they now doe ours: *Imo Lutherum ipso papa deteriorē esse ob Evangelium carnale tantum promulgatum.* Again, *Lutherum doctoresq; alios nihil nisi carnalia sapere qui ritantur.*

^a Manifestation, p. 7.

^b Religio & timor dei solus est, qui custodit hominum inter se societatem. Lactant. dei 7a cap. 12. *Ἡ πρῶτη ὁ νόμος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ.* Arist. 7. Pol. c. 8.

^d Τὸς θεοῦ εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς τοῖς μὴ ἀλλοτρίως τιμῶσι. Arist. 1. her. ad Alex.

^e See Jewel defence of the Apologie, 6 part. cap. I. divis. 2. pag. 644, 645.

corrected. Into what pernicious and damnable errours these men are fallen; and daily seek to draw others, what heart without breaking almost can thinke thereof? and so much the more, because God is highly dishonoured, and exceedingly provoked to wrath, and the whole Nation, for it suffers bitter things.

There is a Citie called *Zaiton* in *India*, where they bring hot meats to their Idols, feeding their dumb-gods with the smoake, and eating the meat themselves. Whatsoever these men professe concerning *one eternall and omnipotent God*, yet they serve him just as the Heathens do their idols, *give him no meat, no worship, service, or religious dutie*, all that he hath from them is onely *smoake*, and fitly may it be named *smoake*, for in truth their principles are nothing else but the *smoake of the bottomlesse pit*. *

6. That they are *Atheists and Antiscripturists*, or little better: Men who regard not God, neither the Scriptures, nor any religion; it may be clearly scene by the *Agreements of the People*, which they call, *a the standard and ultimate scope of their designs*. Amongst all their *Proposals and Articles* (which are thirty at least) there is not one thing proposed, for the holding forth and furtherance of Gods publick worship and service. Now who knowes not and beleeves (except an Atheist) that ^b Religion and the feare of God preserves the societie of men among themselves. It is the speech of the Philosopher in his *Politiques*, when he giveth a rule of Policie: ^c First, there must be a care of divine things, and that is the best Policie. For ^d God loves such most, who are carefull to serve him best.

Neither shall we finde any where (saving among this generation of men) of a *modell and platforme of Government* (though drawn up by Heathen) where Religion was not lookt after, and had not the preheminnence and first place. * Reade the lives of King *Inas*, *Elfrede*, *Edward*, *Eibelstane*, *Edmund*, *Edgar*, *Cannute*, they did not use to treat of matters touching the Common-State, before they had concluded what they thought fit about Religion. Thence grew that custome to say, *Jam sequitur Institutio legum Sæcularium*. Now followeth ^b an order for *Temporall Lawes*.

They will have *tithes* taken away: it is well, but marke, whiles they doe a good worke of easing the people of tithes, they

they will doe something that shall deprive them of the knowledge of the truth. And this is apparent; For they will not have it in the power of the Parliament to impose Ministers upon any of the Respective Parishes, but shall give free libertie to the Parishioners of every Parish to choose such as themselves shall approve. * Here (*Anguis latet sub herba*) is an artificiall devise to fill all places with Atheists, hereticks, blasphemers, &c. and there is no remedie: For in case the people of some Parishes will not choose any one to instruct them in the knowledge of Christ, but will rather choose to live without Christ and instruction (as no doubt many would doe so in this case) or suppose they will choose one that shall instruct them in the *Turkes Alcoran*, or the *Jewes Talmud*, or which is as bad (if not worse) teach them the *Leaven of Levellers*; That there is no saving Christ, no heaven or hell, no Angel or Devill, no resurrection of the body, and much more to this purpose (of which we shall speake presently) now suppose all this, yet the Magistrate must not stirre, though it be in a publick way to hinder the spreading of any damnable heresies, or to promote the truth.

* It is most apparent that they are both State Hereticks and Church-Hereticks.

And this is one of the good things for which they complaine against the Parliament, as to relinquish: To grant men libertie of Conscience is not enough, but they must not intermeddle at all in matters of Religion; but leave things unsettled in the publick, that so the people every where may turne Atheists, or become Hereticks.

* *Nec enim id vertiginosis hominibus & ad turbas & res novandas erectis satis videbatur, Libertatē conscientiarū sibi suisque impetrasse, quin potius ad omnimodā omnia pro arbitrio regendi, versandique licentiam ambiunt. Nescit regnare, qui nescit dissimulare.*

Neither is this practice of theirs without example, the *Munster Levellers* did the * same. Libertie of Conscience granted them will not serve their turne, but delighting in noveltie and mutinie, and being ambitious, they must govern and dispose of all things, and set down what rules and Lawes they judge fit.

What they are for Religion you have heard; wee are next to consider how they doe expresse themselves concerning Levelling. 'We professe (say they) that we never had it in our thoughts to levell mens estates, it being the uttermost of our ayme, that the Common-wealth be reduced to such a passe, that every man may with as much securitie as may be enjoy his proprietie. Before wee come to discover what this Levelling is, we desire it may be noted, that these foure men doe grant the thing lawfull in it selfe; for having

set down what they understand by Levelling, Namely, an equal-
ling of mens estates, and taking away the Right and Title that every
man hath to what is his own: They say to attempt an inducing the
same is most injurious, unlesse there did precede an universall assent
thereunto from all and every one of the people. As if they should say,
the thing is good, onely wanting meanes and power at present
it must be left till there be a fitter opportunite to doe it.

^s Discourses,
l. 3. c. 6.

It is one of *Machiavels* Principles, that ⁸ in a Conspiracy against
the State, the Complotters thereof must not passe the number of three
or foure. That there is a Levelling deligne carrying on, dangerous
to the Common-wealth, it is too apparent, and howbeit, but
few are acquainted with the bottome of the worke, yet many
are, much ute of women as well as men: some to dig, others to
drame, some to raise sedition and hurliburlies in Cities, Towne
and Countrey, others to cry out against tyrannie, and for li-
bertie. And all this is to effect one thing, which is, as they say
themselves, thus.

^h New Law of
righteousnes,
pag. 65. 58.

* *Omnia natu-
ra libera esse
& communia.*
Tno. Munt-
zers Princip.

¹ A Declarati-
on of the free
Commoners
of England.

1. They will ^h have no man to call any thing his: For it is tyran-
nie that a man should have * any proper Land; particular proprietie is
devillish, the mystery of *Aegyptian* bondage, a destroying of the Crea-
tion, a lifter up of the proud covetous flesh; a bringer in of the curse
again, a mortall enemy to the Spirit, and that which hath brought
in all misery upon the creature.

Here they shew what their meaning is, when they say, ⁱ Wee
declare and protest against all Inclosure of Fennes, Forrests, Fields,
Moors, Heaths, Woods, Parks, Chases, which have been taken from
the poore of this Land: Wee are resolved to doe our utmost to restore
them againe for the good and benefit of the poore. That is, seeing no
man may challenge either house or land as his own, they will be
ayding and assisting each to other, and to all and every man that
shall joyn with and assist them in this their Engagement, to
thrust every one out of his proper and lawfull possession, and
take the same for the good and benefit of themselves.

^h The true
Levellers
Standard.

pag. 18.

¹ The new law
of righteous-
nesse, p. 63. 64

2. ^k Labourers and such as are called poore people, they ought not
to worke for any Land-lord, or for any that is lifted up above others.
¹ He that workes for another, either for wages or to pay his rent, workes
unrighteously, and still lifies up the curse, and by his labours holds the
Creation under bondage, and the hand of the Lord shall be against
such

such labourers. Again, they say, it is ^ma tyrannicall usurpation, and Ineroachment of Lords of Mannors, to lay Fines and other services upon their Tenants. When as by right they are as free as themselves.

3. Levellers doe not allow, neither will they have ⁿany buying or selling, no Markets or Faires to be kept; nor any Civill trading at all: for to doe so, it is to take the Beasts Marke: ^oWhen a man hath need of any Corne or Cattle, he is to take the same from the next store-house he meets with.

4. It is another doctrine of theirs, contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, and Nations, that ^{*}no man is to be put to death for murder, or any unrighteous crime whatsoever: nor to be imprisoned or punished any way; onely such are to worke and eat their own bread; and he or they that shall inflict any other punishment upon fellow-creatures, is an unrighteous actor in the Creation: for it is a mightie dishonour to our Maker, that one part of the Creation should destroy another. Again; ^pHe that will rule over, imprison, oppresse, and kill his fellow-creatures under whatsoever pretence, is a destroyer of the Creation, and an actor of the curse, and walks contrary to the rule of righteousness.

5. If their designe hold, they will so Level the Nation, that there shall be no ^qCorporations, Patents, Charters throughout the Realme, in any Citie or Town, as some to be free, others not: There shall not be Mayors, Bayliffes, Aldermen, Common-Councell-men, nor any Judge or Justice of Peace left amongst us. These as the reliques of conquest and tyrannie, they will plucke up by the roots.

6. For our Termes and Lawyers (whom they terme the ^rVermin and Caterpillers of this Common-wealth:) Heare what they say; 'Would it not be a notable bootie for the Souldiers, when so many cheating Lawyers are together at the Terme, to drive them out, or else strip their long-tailed gownes over their eares: O Souldiers, you could never doe a better piece of service, then to put down all the Lawyers, and all their Courts, with all Patents, Grants, Records, &c. and suffer not one Terme more; and we in the Countrey will assist you with what power we can: so that let us acquit our selves like men, and be no more slaves: this were ^{*}an excellent worke indeed.

Thus they intend we shall have the usage which Travailers found at the hands of Seyron and Procrestes, famous Robbers in
Africa,

^mA Declaration of the free Commoners of England.
ⁿLight shining in Black.
p. r. 1. p. 3.
^oNew Law of righteousness,
pag. 47.

^{*}New Law of righteousness,
pag. 60. 61. 69.

^pThe true Levellers Standard.
pag. 9.

^qLight shining in Black.
1 par. p. 10, 11.

^rA Declaration of the free Commoners of England.
^{*}Light shining in Black.
par. 2. p. 14.

^{*}Prosperum ac felix scilicet, virtus vocatur. Seneca.
Here. Fur.

The true
Levellers
Standard.

pag. 17, 18.

The New law
of Righteouf-
nesse, p. 57.

"Et cum in-
scripto dei ver-
bo nullum er-
roribus &
turbis à se
concitatis præ-
sidium reperi-
rent, ad novas
se & furoras
suos tuendi ar-
tes confugiunt,
Enthusiasmus
& inspiratio-
nes secretas
faciunt.

Spanhem.

Of the Ger-
mane Level-
lers.

* Qui sperat
nihil desperat
nihil.

† Inopes bonis
invident, vete-
ra odere, nova
expetunt, odio
suarum rerum
mutare omnia
sudent.

Sallust.

Rebus turbatis
alacres, & per
incerta tutis-
simi. Tacit.

Anica, who by cutting shorter the taller, and stretching out the lesser, brought all to one even length with their bed of brasse. It is true, these things in the eyes of all sober and judicious people, are most vile and detestable: Nevertheless, these *Acephali*, headlesse hereticks doe use severall crafty wiles and wayes that this Common-wealth may be *tobu zibobu*, without order or forme, even an unfashioned masse or lump.

1. By spreading abroad certain visions and voyces heard in a trance: As among others; 1. *Worke together, eat together, and declare this abroad.* 2. *Israel shall neither take byre, nor give byre,* 3. *Whosoever labours the Earth for any person or persons, that are lifted up to rule over others, and doth not looke upon himselfe as equall to others in the Creation, the hand of the Lord shall be upon that labourer: I the Lord have spoken it, and I will doe it.* Now howsoever it be a righteous thing with God, to punish the hypocrisie and apostacie of men by such delusions, and to give them over to lyes, and to their own lusts, because they received not the love of the truth; Nevertheless, many corrupt and false-hearted people are hereby drawn in to helpe forward the conspiracie against the State: neither are the *Grand Incendiaries* ignorant, how others, (seditionous as themselves) have formerly done the like; by which meanes their faction and treason hath growne the stronger.

2. That this *Levelling* may goe forward, and so the Land ruined: they addresse themselves for the most part to the vulgar and poorer sort, and to stirre up such men unto mutinie and sedition; observe what great things are presented to them: as, *Fennes, Forrests, Fields, Heasbes, Woods, Parkes, Chases, and Commons of all sorts*: To which is now lately added, the *Kings Revenues, Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters Lands*. All this the poore labourer shall have, and such as are become poore through idleness, suretiship, riot, or what else. It is a *Maxime* amongst the *Jesuites*, and they observe it when they choose a person or persons for treason, and to make a conspiracie against the Common-wealth. * *He that hath nothing, feares not to doe any thing*: For such kinde of men, *Yenvie the rich, hate old things, and out of a dislike of their present condition, desire to alter all things.*

To these therefore are their *Emissaries* specially sent; to raise the

the servant against the Master; the Tenant against his Landlord; the buyer against the seller, the borrower against the lender, the poore against the rich, and for encouragement Every beggar shall be set on horsebacke.

And this was no other but what the * Germane Levellers did, and by publishing so much, such as had little meanes of their own, and all their hope was upon others, most readily received it.

But you heare them say, they approve not of this Levelling, unlesse there did precede an assent from all the people: Here is a cloake so thinne, that a man may see thorow it; As if these men did not know and love Figures, though they are ignorant of other learning, and generally hate it. *All*, must be understood restrictively, that is the * poore Commoner; for rich men, and such as have Lands, and Estates, and claime a proprietie in things, they doe declare and protest against; for having exercised tyrannie, oppression, and crueltie upon their fellow-brethren, and free Commoners of this Nation. Now who makes question but this *ALL*, will assent to an equalling of mens estates, and taking away the right and title that every man hath to what is his own. And then as the Law saith; *Fundamento deficiente omnia ruunt*. And England may say with the * Poet;

Englands fearfull fate is come, this day's our last;
We once were English, and faire this Land was;
But Englands glory now, her joy and blisse is gone,
Our Countrey ruin'd by Levellers, all's undone.

In our Discovery, we shall now in the next place take notice, what these men say of themselves, for their peaceablenesse, as to reconcile differences, and to heale all breaches on all sides. ^b Wee blesse God (say they) our Consciences are cleare from adding affliction to affliction, having ever laboured from the beginning of our publique distractions to compose and reconcile them, and should esteeme it as the crowne of all our temporall felicitie, that yet we might be instruments in procuring the peace and prosperitie of this Common-wealth, the Land of our natiuitie. Besides their Agreement is rendred as a Peace-offering; and this Scripture especially they assaune to themselves,

* *E quibus non minima fuit publicatio dogmatis de communione bonorum quod prout amicitia & animis exceptum fuit a promiscua hominum colluvie, cui res parva domi, & omnibus in alieno spes erat.*

* So said the Levellers in Germanie; *Se ad egenos potissimum & abjecte sortis homines submissos profiteri*. Spanhem. disput.

* *Venit summa dies: & in eluctabile tempus dardanie: fuimus Troes: fuit Ilium, & ingens gloria Troicorum.*

Feris omnia Jupiter Argos transfudit; incensa danai dominantur in uest. Virgil. *Aeneid. l. 2.*

^b An Agreement of the People. p. 1.

selves, and apply it to their practice ; Blessed are the Peace-makers.

If this be so, what meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in our ears, and the lowing of the oxen which we heare ? How comes it to passe, that all Countries are full with their conspiracies, and their worke hath still been to make division between partie and partie, which cannot be denied, for thus wee prove it.

1. To stirre up the people every where against the Armie, they say, that ^c the faction of a treacherous partie of Officers of the Armie, hath twice rebelled against the Parliament, and broken them to pieces. Now here let it be observed, that none in the Land did more violently presse and urge the Armie to what they did this way then themselves : and after it was done, they shewed great discontent, that they were ^d condemned in their solicitous endeavours for purging the House of these corrupt Members that voted the King to London, and denounced warre against you. For their Contradiction here, we let it passe (as but a mote in their eye) their treacherous and seditious designe we shall onely touch : First, that the Army may engage, they shew the necessitie of the thing, that ^c Mr. Pellams Juncto blades, are usurpers of Parliament-power, a factious, treacherous Juncto, traytors, and enemies to their Countrey, and the trust reposed in them, by whose illegall, pretended, and unbinding votes, a new warre was de facto raised and levied in the Kingdome, to the visible bazard of the ruine and utter destruction there : fit to be severely punished, and not fit to be continued any longer as Judges in the Kingdome, or their own cause. Hereupon advise them to presse vigorously for the totall purging of the House, and not to let the Parliament-men goe free without punishment (for it would be the greatest injustice that could be acted in the world) that so there may be way made for the exemplary punishing of the Lord Mayor of London, and all the chiefe King-leaders, actors in the late desperate and treacherous ingagement.

This being don according to their own desire, they afterward reproach i, and terme the very same thing the faction of a traytorous partie of Officers of the Armie rebelling against the Parliament, &c. of purpose to flatter the Malignants and Cavalliers, and by collouging with them to move them to sedition. Wee shall

^c Picture of the Councell of State, second Edition, p. 13.

^d A plea for Common Right and Freedom, pag. 2.

^e The Juglers discovered, pag. 10, 11.

shall not call this a *Machiavillian* or *Jesuiticall* plot, for its too grosse, onely it shewes how desperate they are, as not caring what they say or unsay, so it be for advantage, and to serve their own turne.

2. How busie they have been in the Army to raise sedition and mutinie amongst the Souldiers, it is well known, neither hath there been any remarkable distraction or division therein, but by their meanes: and surely had not the providence of God wonderfully appeared, they had ere this time broken and scattered the Army by their falshoods and vile aspersions: they have acted by that Principle, *Make division and get Dominion*. If a streame be divided, it is weakened, and it will not be navigable when it is cut into many rivers. We could give many Instances Of their trayterous working to cut the Army into many parts, and that constantly, and in all places through the Land. Besides their Pamphlets and Libels dispersed amongst the Souldiers, speaking thus.

^f Those proud hypocriticall Officers that are amongst you, that are against * *Freedom*, and would doe the worke of the Lord by halves, put them off, and choose honeste in their roomes*, and the onely way is to take downe their great pay, let them serve as you doe. Again, & Suffer this, and suffer any thing, experience shewes, he that takes one box on the eare, invites another; and when Souldiers that should be men in all things, stand still, and suffer their fellow Souldiers to be thus abused by a pack of Officers, no marvaile if their Officers turne Tyrants, presume to doe any thing to any man. And a little after; If you be wise, march not out of London, nor undertake for Ireland, or any other service, till there be set up a new Representative of the Army.

These are the men that would be Instruments, in procuring the peace and prosperitie of this Common-wealth, and call themselves *Peace-makers*. Whereas no Malignant can shew lesse good-will to the Land, or doe more trayterously to bring ruine and misery upon it. Neither is M^r Walwyn behinde-hand in this worke; He likewise calls upon the Souldiers to mutinie; for he knowes ^h by concord the least things encrease, by discord the greatest come to nothing; and that a Kingdome divided cannot stand. Let not the covetous (saith he) the proud, the bloud-thirsty man

^f Juglers discovered, pag. 12.

* That is, against the *Levelling*, mentioned before.

* This is spoken to the private Souldiers that they rise against their Officers.

^g English Souldiers, Standard, pag. 9.

^h *Concordia minime res cresunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.*

Gloss. in Eccles. 21.

ⁱ The bloody Project, pag. 14.

* Levelling
he means.

* *Libertatis in-
stauratiōe &
vindicias sub-
ditorum à jūgo
& tyrannide
proficisci ausus
est.*

¹ *English new
Chaine second
part, pag. 14.*
^m *The Peoples
Prerogative,
pag. 42.*
*English new
Chaine, pag. 9.*

ⁿ *The English
Souldiers
Standard.
pag. 8.*

sway amongst you, feare not their high looks, give no eare to their charmes, their promises or teares, they have no strength without you, forsake them, and yee will be strong for * good, adhere to them and they will be strong to evill.

This needs no explanation, 'tis in plain English; Souldiers re- bell, and cast off your Commanders. Reader, thou must know its for freedome he speakes thus, and the Nations safetie: just as did the Germane-Levellers, their Conspiracy went under ^k the resto- ring of Libertie, and to set the people free from their yoke and ty- rannie.

3. Having raised a mutinie in the Army, by setting the Soul- diers against their Cōmanders; their next worke is, how to con- tinue and encrease it, and this they doe by severall artificiall wayes.

1. By commending and justifying the seditious Souldiers, calling them ¹ honest and worthy Souldiers, the good men in the Ar- mie, ^m the honest Nomen substantives, men most conscientious, and cor- dially acting for common good, and resolved to stand for true liber- tie. So that how trayterous and dangerous soever their attempts are, they shall be yet handsomely covered over: they are Cap- taine Mend-all's Souldiers. Thus if a man will shut his eyes, and give eare to their report; for bread, he shall have a stone; for fish, a Serpent.

2. Their manner is, when any private Souldiers are justly punished for mutinie don by their occasion, to urge and insti- gate their fellow-Souldiers to take revenge upon their Com- manders for it. ⁿ Is it not a shame (say they) that your fellow- Souldiers should undergoe, so slavish, so severe, and painfull punish- ment, as to ride the Woodden horse, or to run the Gauntlet, and be whipt for small particular offences: and that you should suffer in the mean time your Officers and Commanders to turne Tyrants, and ne- ver punish them at all for it. Is this to take up Armes, when one man being your Commander, may (as the Proverb saith) steale a horse, and you will hang a private Souldier for looking over the hedge? For what comparison is there between a private Souldiers offence, and an officers turning a Beare, a Wolfe, a Tyrant?

Now can there be a plot more dangerous and destructive then this to the Army and Nation? What open and profest enemy

enemy can say worse, or move in a way more trayterous? And that the Common Souldiers may be the more exasperated and desperate, they tell them, that their Chiefe Commanders are ^o new Tyrants, Turkish Jambories, ^p men that walke by no rules or principles, either of honestie or conscience: subverters of Lawes and Liberties; setters up of the highest crueltie, villany, slavery, that can be imagined, even tyranny at the hight. ⁱ Insulting oppressors, ^f bloud-thirsty men. ^t The very Jesuits seeme but Innocents to them; Traytors, Thieves, Murderers, the scum, riss-rasse, and trash of the earth. As Now when he hurled the Christians to dogs, seeing the Mistives would not touch them, he clad them in Beare-skins, to kindle the fury of the dogs, that they might take them to be beasts, and not men: So doe these, to set the Souldiers (like dogs) on their Officers, for to tear and devour them; they first cover them with Beare-skins of their slanderous and false tongues: ^u All English Souldiers (say they) that have the least spark of true love to themselves, and their Countries freedome, are bound now or never to unite themselves against those (marke how they clad them in the Beare-skins) Apostates, those Jesuits and Traytors to the people: Those are the Levellers indeed: for what have they not Levelled? There is no trust or confidence ever any more to be had in them: for they have broken their faith with all parties, &c.

Neither doe the seditious Souldiers depart a whit from what is taught them: they ^u unanimously declare, that the end of their Conspiracy and Insurrection is to free themselves out of the band of Tyrants: all their endeavour is the setting of this poore Nation, and the restitution of their shaking freedome: they are forced (poore hearts) to deny obedience to such tyrannicall Officers, whose unsufferable proceedings, tend manifestly to the obstruction of their ^{*} Peace, the hinderances of the reliefe of Ireland, the enslaving of the consuming Nation. And howsoever they shall be burdensome unto some places, and persons for meat and drinke, yet that may be well borne withall, seeing (by raising a new warre, and making a Commotion in the Land) they seeke the peoples ^{*} ease, and their freedome from those intolerable burdens lying on their shoulders, whereof they are very sensible.

Here Reader, with thy patience we shall make a little discovery.

^o The Peoples Prerogative, p. 45. 49.

^p English new choice, pag. 4.

^q The hunting of the Fox,

pag. 4.

^t The bloody Project.

pag. 15.

^u Pag 14.

ⁱ Peoples

Scout, num. 1.

pag. 4.

^u The hunting of the Foxes, pag. 24.

^{*} The unanimous Declaration of Colonel Scrooper and Commissary Iretons Regiments at a Rendezvous at old Sarum, May 11. 1649.

^{*} Pax est repudianda, si sub ejus nomine latitet Bellum. Cicero, Philip. 12.

^{*} Dulce an virtus quæ in bono requiratur? Virgil. 11.

*¶ Nec destitit
de magistratus
tyrannide pa-
raturagediare,
& inculcare
plebi, Omnia
natura libera
esse & Com-
munia: excu-
tiendum esse
principi æque
as pontificis
Romani Jussu,
& quia illi
blandis monitis
baud quaquam
cedant, sed bo-
na & capita
subditorum li-
bidini sue ve-
llet galia esse ve-
lut, justissimis
armis id omni-
bus vindican-
dum esse, quod
omniū esse deus
voluerit.*

*¶ Muntzerus
aperte profite-
ti cepit, se di-
vino mandato
excitum tum
magistratibus
impis punien-
dum, tum ma-
tando regimini
politico.*

*¶ The Peoples
Prerogatives,
pag. 33, 54,
55. &c.
The hunting
of the Foxes,
pag. 18.*

1. Doth not thy minde give thee, that those Souldiers, and so Lilburn, Overton, &c. are very sensible of the burdens and grievances of the people, as, *Tithes, Excise, Free Quarter, &c.* considering they never felt them, but (as fishing in troubled water) from the distractions and calamities of the time, have had their maintenance and livelihood, and gotten something: whereas before they were poore and had little or nothing.

2. Canst thou not beleieve them, that they are deeply affected with *Ireland's* condition, and would willingly further the relieving of it? seeing not onely they refuse to goe thither themselves, but discourage all others from going what they can, and by their sedition and rebellion hinder the State in the *Irish* affaires.

3. How blind are people as not to see, that it is for their ease and to be free from burdens, when private Souldiers run away from their Commanders, make a mutinie and Commotion in the Land, for hereby the Countrey and places wheresoever they come, must needs be impoverished and undon, and the Common-wealth put to more expence and greater charge, for the scattering and suppressing of such *Incendiaries*.

4. There is nothing said by these men, but what *7* disturbers and destroyers of States have alwayes said: They have professed as in the presence of Almighty God, that all their endeavours should be, for Religion, freedom, peace, and prosperitie of the people, by removing tyrannie, oppression, crueltie, &c. yea *a* given out as if in a speciall manner they were called of God to such a worke, but their hypocrisie and treachery hath been discovered, and the Lord laid a sensible and visible judgement upon them for it.

And 3. That the fire which they have kindled in the Army may burne till all be consumed, they have now lately found out a notable devise; namely, to keepe away the water whereby it might be quenched: No otherwise then as a *Thiefe*, who meeting with a travailer well arm'd, and perceiving himselfe too weake for him, would perswade him, that his weapons are unlawfull, and therefore should lay them down; and this he doth purposely to rob and kill the honest man. So these men would perswade the Army, that *b* there is now no *Marshall Law*; but it

is absolute murder in the Generall and Councell of Warre, to put any Souldier to death for any crime or offence whatsoever; and that Souldiers onely are punishable in the Courts of Justice, and according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome: so that the Councell of Warre hath no more right to inflict Justice, then a thiefe or robber hath to a purse which he takes upon the high way.

But wherefore is all this? but for this end, viz. when they have wrought sedition and treason in the Army, there may be no meanes, course, or way found out, for to stop the breach, till all be lost, scattered, and destroyed.

Here we shall againe passe over their grosse Contradiction, as saying, and unsaying; one while justifying, another while condemning the same thing for advantage, and to serve their own turne. Neither is it worth the while to mention their Non-sence, as absurdities and childish passages concerning this thing. There is enough said by themselves, even where they speake most against Marshall Law, to justifie the Armies proceeding by Marshall Law, and out of their own mouth to condemn themselves, of ignorance, or malice, or both. For observe, every Reader that hath sense; Their great and grand Objection is, That no person ought to be judged by Law Marshall, except in times of Warre: When there is no hurli-burly in the Kingdome, no profess'd or declared enemy against the peace thereof, ready to destroy it with fire and sword, but all things are peaceable and quiet, &c. Marshall Law is not lawfull.

Hence we gather (not as *Petitio principii*, but *argumentatio ex concessis*, as they use to say) the lawfulnessse of Marshall Law by their own Grant. For seeing they make hurli-burlyes in the Common-wealth, and declare themselves enemies unto peace, are Incendiaries and Mutiners every where, seeking by fire and sword to ruine all things, of necessitie there must be Marshall Law; their seditious acting is enough to warrant it: and had we no other apparent enemies but They, it would sufficiently prove, that there is no Act or Statute which doth prohibit the same in this very case. All that they say, may be framed thus: If Marshall Law at sometimes, and at the condition of a Kingdome may be, is not to be executed: then is not Marshall Law at any time lawfull, in what condition or case soever the Kingdome be: such reasoning, and theirs is all one.

* A Letter written to the General from Lievt. Col. John Lilburn, Mr. Rich. Overton, April 27. 1649.

† In a Booke Entituled, *A plea for Common Right*, presented to his Excellency Decemb. 28. 1648. pag. 5. There they approve of the Commission Officers and Marshall Law, onely desire something to be amended.

* As no mercenary Souldiers, and yet take pay: no States Army: yet i. an Army; Ergo; it must have Law Marshall. 2. Raised by the Parliament, and for the Parliament. Peoples Prerogative, pag. 57, 58, 59.

Besides,

* Note, that there is no Statute which prohibits *Marshall Law* to an Army that hath been in service and once used it, so long as the State hath upheld it, and stood an Army formaliter. *Nemini injuriā facere, qui jure suo utatur. L. Proculus L. fluminum de damn. infect.*

Englands new Chaine, pag. 1. The hunting of the Foxes, pag. 25.

The Picture of State: Second Edit. pag. 14.

John Lilburn semper idem.

* Lievt. Col. Jo. Lilburns speech at the end of *Englands new Chaine.*

Besides, it is most evident, that they understand not what *Marshall Law* is; for if they did, they would not speake so ignorantly of * Statutes prohibiting the use thereof: considering *Marshall Law* is grounded upon pure reason, a principle in nature, and common to all Nations; it is essentiall to an Army, it hath its proper rise and residence there, and so cannot be taken away as long as it remaines a formall Army; and though the execution should be hindered, yet the right and power of *Marshall Law* an Army alwayes hath. Now the Law saith; *He is injurious to none, who makes use of his own power and right.*

4. Howsoever, hitherto they have acknowledged the Parliament to be *the supream Authoritie of England*, yet now of late they deny it, and title them, *The Gentlemen sitting at Westminster*. And because they perceive there are many in the Land enemies to the Parliaments proceedings, to encourage therefore all such in their malignancy, and to helpe forward what dangerous and trayterous plots they have in hand against the peace and safetie of the Land, they joyn with them hand in hand, yea declare themselves to be the chiefe Incendiaries, and the setters on of conspiracy, perswading others *as one man to rise up against the Parliament, and as so many professed traytors, thieves, robbers, and high-way-men, to apprehend, secure, and bring them to Justice in a new Representative.*

Their Contradictions we still let passe, we shall onely discover to the Nation the Reason or cause wherefore it is, that the Parliament, which is called by them *the supream Authoritie of England*, and say, *We own this honourable House (as of right) the true Guardians of our Liberties and Freedomes.** In a week or two, is said to be absolutely degenerated into pure tyranny, and thereby have lost the essence and soule of authoritie, and are become but a dead stinking carcasse, and all their commands to be contemned as invalid and illegall in themselves. Take notice, they were put upon this of necessity: For considering what they had trayterously written and acted against the Parliament, to acknowledge them (as they did before) *the supream Authoritie of England, the Representatives of the people in Parliament assembled*, they became by their own acknowledgement, actual Traytors and Rebels against the State: and therefore perceiving so much, they doe recall it, as not having don

don any thing against lawfull Magistrates, but to Beares and Wolves, and the greatest Traytors that ever were in this Nation.

It is reported of one Theodorius, that having spoken reproachfully of Christ, to excuse himselfe he taught, that Christ was meer man, and not God: So these men, having notoriously abused the Parliament, to defend themselves, say that they have not spoken against authority, but those Gentlemen sitting at Westminster, who have forfeited their trust, and so the people disabled from all obedience and subjection to them. And here is Machiavels Maxime followed: ¹ Those that mean to effect great matters, must not make reckoning of their words, and know by their craft how to turne and wind about at all times. And the Jesuits doe ^m allow lying, if it be for safetie, profit, and advantage. They doe set open a Schoole for deceit, in which they teach an art of lying, ⁿ by the helpe whereof he that can lye and forswear by the Rule, shall be free either from lying or perjurie.

5. It would aske too much time, to mention all particulars; for where hath not this party been, and earnestly attempted to raise sedition, and to fill all places with uproares and Commotion. They have sought by false suggestions and scandalous Writings, to set strife and division between his Excellency, and the chiefe * Commanders of the Army, in publishing to the world, that ^o the Generall is but their stalking horse, and a Cypher: and ^p one whom they lead hood-winckt to the pits brink of his own ruine and destruction: Their furious, unjust, and illegall proceedings, in shedding innocent blood is don by vertue of his authority, which lies very deepe upon him, and in conclusion may cost him deare, yea the head upon his shoulders.

What can be spoken more seditiously, and more discovering a malicious and malignant spirit? and did not the Generall well know their treachery, and the conscientiousnesse of his Officers, it were enough to produce a sad consequence. The spokes of a wheel must be all united into one nave, or it will never serve for motion: so long as there is an accord and harmony, betwixt the head and other parts, the whole body moves sweetly, successfully, prosperously. But they being grieved and vexed at this, ^q have by falshood and slander don what they could, to seperate and cut asunder.

Againe,

¹ Machiavels Discourses, l. 2. c. 9.
 μὴ πολεμίζων τὸ θεῦδος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ λεγόμενον, ἔδεν περιποιέσθαι δυνάμεις. Dip-hil.

ⁿ Cujus beneficio, qui ad normam mentiatut aut perjeret; haud ille perjurii aut mendacii reus censendus sit. Abbot Anti-log. adv. Eudamo-Joann. c. 2. in prin. fol. 11. fac. 1.
 * Oderint dum metuant.

^o The Picture of the Councell of State: Second Edit.

pag. 14.

^p The Peoples Prerogative.

pag. 55, 56.

^q Perversus in ore suo portat perditionem, et in labiis suis ignem condit.

Cypr. Epist.

55. prope fin.

Pro. 16. 28.

¹Englands new
Chaine, pag. 6.

¹Afflictus fides
est in pace,
justq; rebus
turbatis ala-
ces & per in-
certa tutissi-
mi.
Tactus.

* Ambitiosi a-
liquot humines,
qui privatim
degeneres, in
publicum exi-
tiosi, n. h. l. spei
nisi per d. scor-
dias habent.
Lips. Polit. l. 6.
c. 4. p. 266.

¹Wherein you
shall find high
termes, and
trayterous in-
sinuations, Ista
quidem vus est.

¹See their De-
claration of
the free Com-
moners of
England, tou-
ching their
Engagement.

* utinam Pop:
Rom: unā cir-
vicem haberet.

C. Sueton C.
Cæs. Caligul.

¹Impia sub
dulci melle ve-
nena latent.

Ovid, lib. 2.
Eleg.

Againe, they have sought to make discord between the Parli-
ament and the Councell of Warre, by a subtile and dangerous
Stratagem, namely, that ¹the Parliament should appoint a Com-
mittee of their own Members, to heare, examine, and conclude all
Controversies between Officers and Officers, and between Officers and
Souldiers. Whosoever observes the thing well, shall plainly see,
that their main designe here, was to set the Parliament and Ar-
my at strife, to the prejudice of both, and the whole Nation.
It is said of Cato, that he would closely make contention among
his servants, and keepe them so, because he thought their agree-
ing together would be some hurt and damage to him. This par-
tie apprehends well enough, that ¹peace is a let to their designe,
it must be by divisions, seditions, and breaking the higher-
powers, if ever their destroying plots be effected. And this hath
been the practice of * many ambitious men (being privately base and
of no worth) to be mutinous and seditious in the Common-wealth, as
having no hope but by divisions and discord to raise themselves.

We might mention likewise, the stirre and tumults which
have been lately made, by ¹Petitions brought to the Parlia-
ment, by Women, Prentises, and out of some Countreies, as
a meere devise to carry on the project, and to prepare and ri-
pen the people for an insurrection, whensoever an opportunitie
serves.

Last of all, and which may serve as a prooffe for all: there is
as much published by this partie, as we doe here relate; even Re-
bellion ¹ protested and declared, and when they have gathered
hands and are a considerable number, the * Gentlemen then sitting
at Westminster shall be apprehended for the present usurpation and sur-
prizall of the Name, stampe, and authoritie of Parliament, and they
will take all power and rule into their own hands, and order
the affaires of the Common-wealth as they thinke good.

By this which hath been spoken, the Reader may perceive,
what ¹Peace-makers they are, and how they have laboured from the
beginning of our publick distractions, to compose and reconcile them.
No otherwise then like a Mountebank, who gives a poysonsome
potion to a poore sick man, whereby his sicknesse is strengthened
and increased, and the state of his body growes worse & worse,
and at last kills him out of hand.

Before

Before we come to a new discovery, there is one thing here observable: They have published (and as they thinke) greatly to the dishonour of Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, a speech of his spoken at the Councell-Table, and as they set it down, it should be to this effect. ^a I tell you Sir, you have no other way to deale with these men, but to ^b beate them in pieces: Sir, let me tell you that which is true, if you doe not breake them, they will breake you; yea, and ^c bring all the guilt of the bloud and treasure shed and spent in this Kingdome, upon your heads and shoulders; and ^d frustrate and make voyde all that worke that with so many yeares industrie, toile, and paine, you have done; and so render you to all rationall men, as the most contemptible generation of silly low-spirited men in the earth, to be broken and routed by such despiseable contemptible generation of men as they are: and therefore, Sir, I tell you againe, you are necessitated to breake them.

Now be it so, that thus he hath spoken: What hath he don? Was there not a cause? Is not the thing true, and very necessary it should be don? Is there any thing in the speech, but what Religion, Reason and Law allow, and strictly call for it? If *Sheba* blow a Trumpet of rebellion, *Joab* justly may require his head, and it is fit he should die for it. It is an undoubted Rule of Divinity and Policy, that it is ^e more expedient that one man die, yea, ten, an hundred, a thousand, then the whole Nation should perish. ^f Better one, then one-nesse. ^g Better one corrupt and putrefied member be cut off, then the whole body thereby should be infected and destroyed. It is a remarkable saying, ^h Let the Magistrate punish malefactors (as Incendiaries, and Traytors to the Commonwealth) least they for them be justly punished.

Whosoever they are that stand for such a generation of men, are like *Tiberius*, who would have *Caligula* to reigne, that he might destroy the people: It is true, If men be ill affected to their Countrey, and would have all settled Formes of Government overthrowne, Christian Religion extirpated, all humane societies destroyed, and men deprived of their lawfull Liberties, Rights, and Estates, they cannot desire or wish for fitter Instruments, and for men that will surer or sooner bring such mischief and misery upon a Nation.

Having answered to such things as they speake of themselves:

E

Our

^a Bona est misericordia, sed non quum est contra judicium. August. qu. 88. in Ho.

Pro. 18. 6, 7. & 22. 10.

^b The Picture of the Councell of State, second Edit. pag. 12.

^c He might well say so, knowing them to be a generation whose teeth are as swords & their jaw-teeth as knives.

^d See before their Principles touching Religion and Civill Government; and *Walwyns wiles*, pag. 9, 10, 11.

^e John 11. 50. & 18. 14.

^f Melius est ut pereat unus quam pereat unitas. August. & Ure, *seca ut membrorum potius aliquod, quam totum corpus intereat.* Cic. Philip. 12.

^h Paniantur a te, ne tu pro illis puniaris. Cyp. de util panitent.

¹ *Tanto falsi testes peiores sunt, quanto propinquare veritati per calumniam volunt.* August. de Festo Sancti Steph. Hom. 9.
^k Witnesse L. General Cromwell, who hath patiently borne Lilburnes reproaches and scandalous speeches, and don him good for evil: as he acknowledgeth himselfe thus: I must acknowledge you took compassion of me in my bonds and chaines, even when I was at deaths doore, and was principally instrumentall in delivering me from the very gates of death, in An. 1640. And setting me free from the long and heavy Tyranny of the Bishops and Star-chamber, even at that time when I was almost spent: and many particular respects since then, and one large token you sent me since I came, &c.

Jonahs cry out of the Whales belly, pag. 2.

¹ These will not allow of that Rule; *Auctoritatem majorum etiam in illicitis excusare.* C. Dixit 14. q. 5.

Our next worke shall be to observe what they say of others; and here we purpose to take an exact and full view of all their ⁱ Papers, Pamphlets, Petitions, &c. which they have published to the world, and wherein they lay grievous things to the Parliament, the Councell of State, and the Councell of Warre, with high charges, and accusations, against severall persons: and this we will doe the more fully, distinctly, and in order, to the end the Innocent may be quitted and cleared, their calumniation, falshood, and trayterous designs *discovered*, and honest-minded people no longer deceived, through the hypocrisie and deceit of such men.

Two things are extant, Entituled, *Englands New Chaines discovered, the first and second part*: A title importing great oppression imposed upon them by the present *supream Authoritie of this Nation*: but wherein they felt or suffered any such thing, as yet they have not shewed, neither doth their *serious apprehensions*, or *sad Representation* manifest so much. Some children will teare and scratch their Mother in the face, and then cry out as if they had been beaten or abused; whereas there is nothing done to them, but onely they wronged their Mother. Many wrongs and injuries have they offered unto severall men, and afterward have cryed out and complained, as if they were the sufferers; Whereas ^k nothing by the others was done to them, but a patient passing by of all their insolencies and abuses; and making good that Maxime, much agreeable to wisdom, that *just deeds are the best answer to injurious words*.

We shall speake first, to the *first part of their New Chaines*: Omitting nothing, saving their vaine repetitions, calumniations, idle, frothy, and impertinent passages. First, they complaine against *erecting a big Court of Justice for tryall of criminall causes*. To which we answer.

I. Were they not bent to sedition, they would not mention a thing which by the Parliaments power may lawfully be done (and ¹ they know it too) and for no other end, but to sooth and flatter

flatter Malignants, and to provoke them to greater rage and wrath against the Parliament, and High Court of Justice, for their late just proceedings against capitall offendours.

2. Whereas they speake of persons pickt and chosen as a usuall policie to introduce by such meanes all usurpations. Herein they discover great uncharitablenesse, and extreme malice, and walke contrary to Scripture and Law: The word of God teacheth us when speeches or actions doubtfull in themselves, and may be taken either well or ill, we are to interpret them in the ^m best part. So saith the Law; ⁿ *A doubtfull action is to be taken in the better part.* ^o Againe; *In a doubtfull thing, the fairer interpretation must be made:* So againe; ^p *In doubts the nobler presumptions are to be chosen.* But these Rules are never followed by Conspirators against the Common-wealth: but on the other hand, actions howsoever in themselves very good, (as was this high Court of Justice) and cordially don, shall be depraved by malicious insinuations, as if by-ends and self-interest were intended, or some publick detriment would follow: and this hath been practised formerly by ^q Incendiaries, proud ^r hypocrites, and by the *Devill* (*Διαβολος*) the false accuser or make-bate taught them. Besides it is well to be noted, how in all the things set forth by this partie, there is little said, saving ^t forged insinuations against the Parliament, the Councell of State, and the Armie, as if they would doe this, and that, to oppresse the people, whereas nothing was ever so intended, neither had they any ground or cause for such jealousies and aspersions, but have given them forth, of purpose to disturbe, unquiet, and trouble the Nation.

3. These men doe see ^u the way of tryall by twelve men to be a Constitution so equall and just, as that they conceive it ought to remaine unalterable.

But first, What if there should be thirteen or thirty, or more or lesse, were it not as well and just: Rationall men can distinguish between substance and ^x circumstance, between what is necessary and essentiall to a thing, what indifferent, and so may be don or not don (without danger) as occasion is. 2. In other Countreys for tryall of criminall causes, their proceeding is not

^z *De minimis considerationem non habendam. L. scio de integ. restit.*

^m 1 Cor. 13.7.

Deut. 22-25,

26, 27.

ⁿ *Dubium in meliorem partem accipiendum L. cum creditor. de furtis.*

^o *In re dubia benigniorem semper fieri interpretationem.*

L. proxime C. de his que in test. del.

^p *Nobiliiores presumptiones semper in dubiis eligendas: L. merito pro socio.*

^q 2 Sam. 10.3, 4. & 15.3, 4.

^r Mat. 9. 34.

^s Job 1. 10.

Rev. 12. 10.

^t *Inserunt querelas, & ambiguos de Magistratu sermones, quaeq; alia turbulenta vulgi. Tac. hist. 1.*

^u *Englands new Chaine, pag. 3.*

^a Quere, If the Judge onely should examine the witnesses, and thereupon proceed: whether it would not be for the profit and ease of the people: but, w^het^her sooner dispatched, and probably more just and legal trials.

* Error in syl-
laba non vitiat
actionem. L. qui
habebat: A de
Manu test: doc.

^b Pro. 27. 4.
Cor-felle ama-
rum, per linguæ
instrumentum
spargere nisi a-
mara non po-
test. Bernard.

^c Facilius dari
exceptionem,
quam actionem
l. 1. secl. cui da-
mus superfic.

^d Discordiarum
occasiones peni-
tus removebat.
L. æquissimum
de usu fruct. L.
Cum pater secl.
dulcissimis de
lege 2.

^e Rom. 16. 17.

^f Naturalis ete-
nim & jus gen-
tium dicitur ac
prescribit, ut
religio nobis cu-

by a twelve sworn men, but otherwise, and yet equall and just in it selfe. And howsoever we shall not speake against this way, yet this we affirme, it is to be reckoned among the *adiaphormes or Ceremonies of the Law, a thing so indifferent, whether the number be twelve or twenty, that the Magistrate may safely ei-ther continue it, or change it as he sees cause. But 3. was it ever known before, that men should be blamed, for their study, care, and wisdom, to doe a thing well. If their objection here against the *high Court of Justice* be duly weighed, it will appeare as evident as the Sun at noon day, that because the Parliament made choice of, able, judicious, and conscientious men, and called many such together, to the end they might proceed legally, impartially, as of sincerity, as of God, in the sight of God, there-fore they speake evill of them. Things looked on under water, howbeit streight, smooth and faire, yet standing so, appeare as if they were crooked, rough, deformed: So this Generation of men, looking upon the actions of the *Parliament*, the *Councell of State*, and *Army*, with an envious eye, they turne (like Spiders) the best and most wholesome things into poyson: For what the one doth faithfully, uprightly, and for publick good; the other calls it hypocrisie, tyranny, self-seeking, New Chaines, &c.

^b But who is able to stand before envie?

2. They complaine for censuring a Member of the House for de-
claring his judgement in a point of Religion.

Ans^r. 1. Here we may see, that saying to be most true;
^c It is easier to finde fault, then to give a reason for it. What the Parliament did in this thing, it was upon that ground, and Maxime in Law, that ^d all occasions of discord ought altogether to be taken away. The speech was neither usefull, nor seasonable, no way tending to the publick good, but dishonourable to the House, scandalous to our profession, and Religion, obstructive to the present worke of Reformation, and ^e causing divisions and offences. 2. For the Reserve in the Agreement concerning Religion: If they mean that the Parliament hath agreed that any blasphemous and hereticall doctrine shall be propounded and defended in the House, we ^f know of no such thing: neither doe we know what Reason that Member had, to speake there what he did, untill the House had declared that it should be free for every

every Member to propound in Parliament points of that nature. 3. Here we desire that all people in all places, will take notice, what *Englands new Chaine* is, and what the burden and oppression is; which they so much speake of: Because the Parliament will not countenance blasphemy and heresie, suffer it to be justified in the House, and taught publickly *cum privilegio*, they cry out, *Tyrants, Murderers, Theeves*: Indeed this is the great and grand businesse, Religion and Orthodox Doctrines are not (as they desire and seeke for) cast off and utterly rejected.

A third thing which hath brought England into new Chaines, is, the Act for pressing of Sea-men, directly contrary to the Agreement of the Officers.

Antw. 1. There is no Law so firmly made (much lesse an Agreement of Officers) but when the peoples safetie, and necessitie require, may lawfully be changed. ^h *Quod non est licitum in lege, necessitas facit licitum.* Besides, in the Statutes which they themselves have (some where) cited; it is expressly said, that where necessity requires, men may be compelled to arme themselves and goe to warre. It is true, such as are fit and serviceable, whether for Sea or Land, ^k should serve the State willingly, whereby the Common-wealth might be defended, and peace preserved: Nevertheless, in case of refusall, they may be prest and compelled, Reason and Religion say as much, if necessity and the present safety of the Land call for it. But this was the Parliaments case, and the reason of that Act, namely, ^l For the defence of the Realme, and sudden coming of strange enemies into it.

But 2. As in other things, so in this, their conspiracy and treason against the Common-wealth, notably appears, in seeking the destruction of it both by Land and Sea: For howsoever (as we said) the safety of the people requir'd this Act, neither was there any other way or meanes visibly to prevent eminent and sudden danger. Nevertheless, they speake against it, cry out, *New Chaines, Tyranny, Bondage, Oppression, &c.* And why all this? But to make the Sea-men mutinous and seditious, as they have don the Souldiers: by falthood and trayterous insinuation to have them beleeve, that it is indeed oppression and tyranny for the Supream Authority of the people, to presse men upon any occasion, and by this means cause the Sailers to turne against the

*re sit, & omnia
quæ ad eam pro-
movendam ac
conservandam
spectant pro vi-
rili procuremus.*
Joachim: Shō-
hus: de Blas-
phem. l. 3.
c. 35. p. 426.

^g *Nulla tam
sancta lex est,
quam non oporteat, si salus po-
puli postulet, ur-
geatq; necessitas
mutare.* Eod. de
Repub. l. 4.
Heiman:
Kirchner. Re-
spub. disput. 6.
Thes. 6. p. 87.
^h Decret. 4.
ⁱ The Peoples
Prerogative,
pag. 8.

^k *Opera milita-
ria debentur
quoque Magi-
stratui, ut per
eum defendatur
Respubl: et con-
servetur tran-
quillitas civi-
um.* Frid:
Wendelin:
Inst. Polit.
lib. 2. c. 17.
pag. 242.

^l St. 15. Ed. 3.
7. St. 4. Hen. 4.
13. 25. Ed. 3. 8

^m Unhappy
Prosperitie,
first Historie,
pag. 180.

*Indulgentia &
lenitas Magi-
stratus nimia
seditionis ansa
præbet: quia
dum quiescere
magistratus of-
ficia plebs vi-
det, nullisq; le-
gum se coercere
repagulis ani-
madvertit, ipsa
sibi rapere gu-
bernacula &
quidvis audere
incipit, con-
tempto magi-
stratu, vel spe
impunitatis
concepta.* Frid.
Wendellin:
Instit. Polit.
l. 3. c. 2. p. 492.
ⁿ Englands new
Chaine second
part, p. g. 14.
^o Overtos Ap-
peale, pag. 3.
^p L. vim. de just.
& jur l. scien-
tiam §. cur ad
A quid.
^q Overtos Ap-
peale, pag. 3, 4.

^r Petrus Gre-
gorius, lib. 23.
de Remp.
^s Clem. Templ.
Polit. lib. 4.
cap. 7. pag.
424.

the Parliament, as against Tyrants and Oppressours, and not obey them as their right and lawfull Rulers: and this is their work all along. And therefore high time it should be lookt into; for as one truly saith, ^m *A Magistrate who hath discovered a Conspiracie, and seemes fearfull to remedy it, is as faultie as the Conspirator himselfe.*

4. They tells us, they ⁿ *want freedome, and are in Chaines, because the Parliament stops their mouths from printing.*

Ans^r. 1. Here We may use their own words, *That it is a sure and radicall Maxime in Law, Nihil quod est contra rationem est licitum: Nothing which is against reason is lawfull.* To which may be added; ^p *Against force and injury it is lawfull to use defence: Likewise, Licet vim vi repellere.* When Demosthenes would set forth the improvidence and Incircumspection of the Athenians, presented to them an innocent Foole, who being smitten on the cheek, laid his hand on the place where he had received the blow; and being stricken on the other cheek, did the like, never using any of his hands to defend himselfe from further blowes. Such Ideots and Silly-bodies they would have the State to be, stand still, and suffer them, with their seditious and scandalous Libels to strike them as often as they please, and through their sides to wound and destroy the Common-wealth. But observe what they say in their own case; ^q *It is a firme Law and radicall principle in nature, ingraven in the Tables of the heart by the finger of God in the Creation, for every living moving thing, wherein is the breath of life, to preserve, award, and deliver it selfe from all hurtfull things, destructive and obnoxious thereto, to the uttermost of his power.* If this be true, surely then, the Parliament should not follow a radicall principle in nature, to suffer them to publish their trayterous and licentious Pamphlets, seeing there is nothing more hurtfull, destructive, and obnoxious to the peoples safetic then the same.

2. Such as prescribe Remedies against Conspiracies, give this as the first and principall, namely, ^r *To prevent and cut off (if possible) the occasion, that it may not breake forth.* ^s *Initia seditionum, quamprimum apparuerint, comprimantur.* Where the burning of a house is feared, there the smallest sparkles of fire are quenched: to whomsoever stormes and tempests are dreadfull, the first and least

least signes thereof are observed by them. Now they are very ignorant in State-affaires, who *see not that Books and Papers, containing calumniations and falshood against Authoritie (under what colour or pretence soever, as for libertie, and to have taxes and burdens removed) are fire, even wild-fire in a Common-wealth, a storme and whirle-wind indeed, enough (if not prevented) to burne and throw down all things: and to prove this, we need not goe further, then the present example of these unhappy men.

3. Men who have acted by the Principles of Reason and Nature, (knowing *prævisa minus ledunt*, things foreseen doe lesse hurt;) have alwayes been carefull to stop the publishing of seditious bookes: Hence ^aPlato, ^xPlutarch, and the wisest of the Gentiles, in their Models and Platformes of Civill Government, have evermore given order, that y infamous Writings should not be peraitted, such as contained calumniations and reproaches, and tended to mutinie and division; but the Authors and Promoters thereof punished. Neither are there any Christian *Statesmen, but in their Republicks and Policies doe say as much: And so much hath been ever practised by all States. And in some of our own Statutes it is declared, that ^aWhosoever by Writing shall affirme the King to be a Tyrant, an Usurper, &c. it is high Treason. Again; ^bIf any by Bookes, Rymes, Ballads, Letters, or Writing, shall publish false, seditious, and slanderous things against the King or Queen, his right hand is to be stricken off for it; and if he doe so againe, to suffer imprisonment during his life.

And here we may Reason from the lesse to the greater; if for Writing falsly or seditiously against the King, it be a crime deserving the cutting off the right hand, or perpetuall imprisonment; and to call him Tyrant or Usurper, be high Treason by Law, it must needs then in our understanding necessarily follow, that to write the like against the supream Authoritie of the people, whose power is greater then the Kings, and their place above him; is as high and capitall a crime, yea and by the same Statute deserves the like punishment. The truth is, it is beyond our apprehension, how for words written against the ^cservant, the Writer by such a Statute shall commit high treason, and

* *Quicquid id est, timeo Danaos & dona ferentes. Sic notus ulisses?*

Vir. Æneid: 2.

^r As the fire-fly leapes and dances in the fire: so it is their rejoycing to see commotions and stirres in the Land.

^u Plato l. 10. de Republ.

^x Plutarch lib. de Civili administratione.

^y *Famosi libelli convitia, contumelia, detractiones publicæ sunt a magistratu coercendæ, ut pax inter cives maneat.*

Plato. l. 11. de legibus.

* *Libellos famosos, sive pasquillos magistratus spargi prohibeat, eorumq; auctores & disseminatores graviter coerceat.*

Keckerm. System: Polit. l. 1 c. 22. p. 358.

^s 5. Ed. 6. 11.

^b Philip and Mar. 3.

ⁱ Eliz. 6.

^c So have the Kings of Eng-

land been servants, Stewards, and Ministers to the people. So is the Parliament being the Representatives of the whole Kingdome.

* *Si id quod minus verisimile est, verum est, & id etiam erit, quod magis verisimile videtur.*

Pet. Fonsec.
Instit. dialect.
lib. 7. c. 29.

yet the same words written against the ^d Master not found so by that Statute. If Law be reason (as it must be, or else 'tis no Law,) then thus speakes Law with Reason. * *If that which is lesse likely be true, then will that be also, which appears more likely.* That Statute which finds a man guiltie of high treason, and justly condemns him for it, for words against the interiour and lesser power: that same Statute will finde a man also, guiltie of high treason, and justly condemna him for it, for the like words against the superiour and greater power.

4. Whereas they would helpe themselves by mentioning Stapleton, Hollis, the Prelates, &c. This is not *salimodo*, but a Sophism; *a κατὰ τὸ ad illud quod dictum est ἀπλῶς*. Because Pilate did not well in condemning Christ: therefore he did ill to condemn the thieves. But here we cannot but smile, to observe wherefore they would have the Presse open to them; namely because, *so they would discover all treacherous and tyrannicall designs.* And is there not probability for this? Will not Satan cast out Satan? Huh not the Parliament reason to beleieve, that they who call them Thieves, Tyrants, Murderers, &c. declare and protest against all their Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Declarations, and Acts, as not binding to the people: Provoke the Souldiers and Commoners every where to insurrection and rebellion: If they had more liberty to print their Conspiracies and Falshoods against the Parliament, Councell of State, and the Armie, and to spread them all the Counties and Countrey over, they would doe the State lesse hurt, and better service.

* *Englands new Chaine, part second, pag. 14.*
f One Mr. Hadden whom the Levellers have lately secretly murdered; and Thomson the Arch-traytor was a chiefe actor in it.

5. We suppose they will now object no more against the Parliament for imploying that ^c *Apostate Judas* (as they call him) as an Executioner to search after unlicensed Bookes: seeing ^f themselves have don execution upon him; murdered him in a most barbarous and cruell manner: and therein shewed to the Nation what the Native birth-right is, the Common-Freedome and safetie they talke of: If they get power into their hands, to stab and kill whosoever opposeth them: and why not? seeing (according to their Beliefe) there is no Heaven nor hell, no punishment or suffering after this life, for murder, or any wickednesse whatsoever. And so much appears by that Atheisticall and hellish Counsell suggested by *Walwyn* to a Woman lying under a sore and

and heavy temptation. ^g That it was a base and ignoble thing for any one to lie under such trouble, anguish, and perplexitie, as could not well be endured; having so easie and speedy a way of riddance out of it, as is before every man, and that it was an honourable and valiant thing, for a man in such a case to put an end to his life; by laying violent hands upon himselfe, being a farre shorter way of ease, then any other way.

• We hope the ^h Reader doth all along take notice, that there is not one thing which they doe take up against the Parliament, as pretending it to be a new Chaine, oppression, tyrannie, &c. But it is clearly to be seen, that thereby some great mischief and trayterous designe is intended to the Land: There is nothing of late more complained of, then this, about stopping the Presse: But how justly we have shewed, and shall onely adde, that these men, who by their seditious Writings, and other treacherous wayes, have already made Commotions and hurli-burlies amongst us, and have sought from time to time to destroy this Common-wealth, are so farre from being suffered to doe so againe, as that they ought to suffer death for what they have don already: and so saith the ⁱ Law: yea, and further saith, that Conspirators against the publick Peace, are to be ^k cut asunder alive; and the parts of their bodie to be hanged up in the most noted and speciall places of the Land. And likewise saith, ^l Transfusas etiam & proditores, perduellium instar, à quovis impunè occidi posse; Meaning as Jurists Comment, Si de facti notorietate constet.

5. But the great businesse is about the Conncell of State; at this they are extreemly offended: and no marvaile, for they who seek to have all Lawes, and old Courts of Justice Levelled and put down, cannot take it well, that any new should be erected, especially such a one, as they see is a main obstacle and let to their Conspiracy and Treason, and a Court which they feare will be (Jachin and Boaz) as two Pillars for the establishment and strength of the Nation.

But let us now see their Reasons, wherefore they would have ^m this present Conncell of State dissolved.

ⁿ *cis suspendendas. Clar. d. num. 8. Damond. c. 62. Argum. l. 234. de V. S. l. 3. §. ult. ad l. Corn de sicar Gothof ad l. 7. hic Clar. d. loc. in fin. Cuiac l. 5. Observ. 33. m. Englands new Chaine, pag. 12.*

^g *Walwyns Wiles, pag. 12.*
Note, that the poore woman did as the wretched man perswaded her, strangled her selfe.

^h And so for the rest following take notice how we shal shew thee their conspiracy against the State in every particular, one after another.

ⁱ *Reus est laesæ Majestatis, qui seditionem in Remp: cõcit, eam hostibus, patriæ religionẽ aut Reip: hostibus nomen dat aut aliud quid vis ad Reip: statum convertendum molitur. l. 1. 10, 11. hic. l. 5. cod. vult. Althus. D. loci vid. Damond. c. 63. diff. aliqui per l. 21. §. 1. de cap & postl.*

^k *Frequentius vivi sectione in partes eminentioribus locis suspendendas.*

ⁿ Ibid. pag. 2.

ⁿ 1. Because as the cause now stands they *MAY* designe to perpetuate their power, and keepe off Parliaments for ever.

Ans^r. 1. Howsoever the Wolfe sometimes keepe in, and shewes not his cruelty and rapine by his bloody mouth, yet long he cannot dissemble, but what is within will appeare: We have before given a hint of their slanderous insinuations: Where things are right, and very good, and no just exception can be made against them (as in this case here touching the *Councell of State*) then they seeke to possesse the people with jealousies and feares, as what *MAY BE*. The plot indeed is too shallow, too absurd and foolish, whereby any judicious and knowing men should be deceived. It being no more then thus; *A man should throw away his meat, money, armour, &c. because such things may doe him harme: the expression whereof is conviction sufficient.*

* They are against all Courts and Magistrates, as against the *Councell of State*; onely they perceive there is no need to meddle with such things; for if they can break the *Parliament, Councell of State, and Armie*, all the Courts & Magistrates of the Nation must fall and be dissolved therewith.

ⁿ *Calumniatores fratrum & detractores Infames censentur. Cauf. 6. Qu. 1. C. Infames.*

• *Englands new Chaine, pag. 7.*

But 2. were not these men, either blinded with prejudice, or thought that the people would take every thing from them without any consideration, it could not be, that so groundlesse, irrationall and sencelesse an objection would have been made: For what can the *Councell of State* doe in relation to the *Parliament*, as either to keepe off Parliaments, or to keepe them on. The truth is, they might as well have * *Petitioned the House*, to dissolve the present Courts of the *Chancerie, Exchequer*, and put down all the Judges, Justices, Mayors, and Constables in the Land, for the *Councell of State* can no more hinder or keepe the *Parliament* from sitting then they: nay, if divers circumstances be weighed, they are lesse able to doe the thing here suggested then the others can doe; especially some of them.

Thus not onely doe they declare a malicious heart, to make conclusions in the worst part before they know any thing; but also shew themselves desperately seditious, as not to regard how improbable and impossible the thing is, so it may make disturbance, and raise up the spirits of the people against their Rulers. But enough of this; we will leave them to the censure of that ⁿ *Law*, who being calumniators and detractors, set *Burne Markes* on their forehead for infamous people.

2. They doe object against the *Councell of State*, because they are ^o *possessed with power to order and dispose all the Forces appertaining*

taining to England, by Sea or Land, to dispose of the publick treasure, to command any person whatsoever before them, to give oath for the discovering of truth, to imprison any that shall disobey their commands, and such as they shall judge contumacious.

There is nothing in this which requires an answer, for the greater the matters are which are referred to the Councell, it argues the abilitie and faithfulness of the men to be the more, and the Parliament knowing so much, hath committed such great things to their trust.

But 1. Were not these men ignorant of Maximes in Law and Reason, they would observe, that * *to whom a Jurisdiction is given, unto it such things are necessarily granted, without which nothing can be don.* When a man is Constituted, a Judge, Justice of Peace, or Mayor, it must be presupposed, that he hath power given him, to officiate and act such things as appertain to that function or calling. But observe the absurditie, and stupiditie of these men; they doe not deny (neither indeed can they) but the Parliament lawfully may erect such a Councell, onely they finde fault, because they have power to act the things which properly belong to such a State.

2. It seemes there is no way to escape the scourge of these mens tongues; Because the manifold pressures and sorrowes of the people are not removed, peace, libertie, freedome established; the Parliament for this, is every where reproached by them. Again, Whereas the Parliament endeavoureth (and for that end, is this Councell of State created) to take away the burdens, oppressions, and miseries of this Nation, and to settle the Commonwealth of England upon Principles of Righteousnesse, freedome, and safetie, according to their severall Expresses and Declarations: for this also doth the same partie speake evill of them. This shewes they are men of some parts, that they can as handsomely put a reproach and scandall upon the Magistrates, for doing well, as for doing nothing. But in the meane time, their hypocrisie and basenesse is the more obvious and manifest to all unbiassed and impartiall people: for who, unlesse men most impudent, would pretend a desire, to have burdens removed, Ireland relieved, our Forces by Land and Sea well looked unto, and provided for, the publick treasure carefully disposed

Would it be a good argument to prove Mr. Lilburn a Coward or traytor to the Army, because he was chosen Lievt. Col. or rather because he was chosen to such a place it argues he was thought then valiant, faithfull, &c.
* *Cui Jurisdictio data est, ei quoque concessisse videntur sine quibus jurisdictio explicari non potuit.* Digest. Jurisdic. Tit. 1.

That which is don by the Parliament is called first stable and sanctum, and is taken for Law.

Smith: Commonwealth of England. l. 2. Ch. 2.

Πολλοὶ Βασι-
λέως ὀφθαλ-
μοί, καὶ πολ-
λὰ ὄψαι. Ze-
nop: 8. Poed.

Brachia Da-
lasse potius
pendenda na-
tanti, nec pi-
geat mento
supposuisse
manum. Ovid.

l. 2. de Pont.

Magna nego-
tia magnis ad-
iutoribus igere.
Velleius l. 1. 1.

Hominum na-
tura, & ipsa
equitas, leges
& reipub: for-
mam excudit
& invenit.

Plat. l. 3. de
Leg.

Publicam u-
tilitatem pri-
vatorum com-
modis prae-
ferendam.

Authent: res
quæ C. Com:
de Legat.

* Englands
new Chaine,
pag. 8.

* Senatores ple-
riq; urbe exce-
dunt, & aucto-
ritate reliqui,
urbis facies in-
novatur, Con-
sule: novi Cre-
antur a pro-
phetis & inter
illos Bernhar-
dus Cnipper-

of, and when they see all this is don, to speake evill of the State, and for no other reason, but because the same is don as they desired, or at least pretended so.

And to the end their malice and mischief to the Land may the more appeare in reproaching the Parliament for erecting this Councell of State, Let it be considered: 1. What necessitie (as our present condition is) there was of such a Councell. 2. The many, great, and weighty affaires, which cannot possibly be well effected and don, but in such a way. 3. How consonant and agreeable this thing is to the constant practice of all well governed Republicks, past, and present. And 4. no other, but what is agreeable to Reason and Law, yea, altogether bottomed upon such Grounds. And lastly, according to the Principles and Maximes set down by all judicious and learned Politicians in the world. These particulars we could enlarge, but it needs not; for envie it selfe can finde nothing here, whereby to oppose, or to raise any contradiction, or objection against these Assertions.

But 3. Their objection seemes to lie chiefly against the persons, that is, some particular Members of the Councell of State, and this is more then likely, even certaine; and gives us an occasion to remember a pretty fable of Demosthenes, how the Wolves made a league of peace with the Sheep, so that the dogs might be removed; but when the dogs were put away, the sheep were worried. There are in the Parliament, Councell of State, and Armie, some men whom they perceive are speciall barres and lets to their pernicious designs: these they would willingly have removed, to the end they might easily devour the poor sheep of this Nation; their safety, freedome, lawes; and so their Estates become a prey to them.

But let us see who they are that the Wolves would have removed.

1. * The chiefe of the Armie: And this we verily beleieve: for as none have had more experience of their conspiracies and seditions from time to time then these, so hath the Lord alwayes made them chiefe Instruments to preserve this Land from their horrid, inhumane, and bloody wiles and workings against it. John of Leiden, and the * Munster Levellers with him, did the same

same thing, which they here desire, (and no doubt would doe had they power) Displaced all such Officers as stood in their way, and set others in their room, whom they thought would help forward their designe, to ruine and destroy the Commonwealth.

2. *The Judges of the Law.* Here likewise we know their meaning: its confusion they would have, this Land, *⁊ a land of darknesse, as darknesse it selfe, and as the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darknesse*: neither are they ignorant of the ready way and means how to bring it in, and make it so: take the light away, and darknesse must needs follow: Remove men skilfull and expert in the Law, and there will be no need to bring in absurdities, non sence, fooleries; for these things of themselves will flow fast enough, and over-flow the Nation. Again, that men should be excepted against, as incapable to be members of any *Civill Court, or Councell of State*, because *Judges of the Law*; it is an objection we are confident, never before heard of, or propounded by any one. What may be objected in regard of personall unfitnessse, is one thing: but ^a in reference to his profession, *Quatenus, as a Judge of the Law*, and therefore unfit, it is the most senselesse thing that ever was uttered. It is no otherwise then to make a man unfit to take the charge of a Ship, or to be appointed the Pilate, or Master, because he is a skilfull and experienced Sea-man.

3. *Treasurers of money*: And why not? It will be time enough to give a farther answer when we know the cause and ground wherefore such are excepted against. In the mean while, we entreat the Reader to observe one thing usuall with these men, which is to mention many things, but not at all to the purpose for which they bring them. Onely amongst the ^b ignorant, whom they seeke to beguile, they thinke it is enough if any thing be spoken, because they will not, or cannot consider the impertinencies, flashes, and nothings, which they finde in their Papers.

Their fourth Exception is against Members of the Lords House, and some of the House of Commons, forward men in the Treatie, and decliners of the last proceeding, concerning the King and Lords.

To which we answer.

1. These

dollus, Homo novandi vetus manu promptus & ad turbas factus.

Spanhem.

disput. Anti-anabap: Prim. Gen. Thes. 18.

⁊ Job. 10. 22.

⁊ Domus Jurisconsulti, est totius Oraculum civitatis. Cic. 1. de Orat.

ἔχουσι ὁ νόμος & ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπονομή ἔχουσι.

Ad salutem civium, civitūq; incolumitatē, vitamq; hominum & quietem & beatam, conditæ sunt leges. Cic. 1. de leg.

It is a Canon amongst the Papists, De judicio summi Pontificis disputare non licet. Gratian: decret: pars 2. caus. 17. Quest. 4. cap. si quis & nemini.

If some people did not walke by such a blind rule, they would see such froth and vanitie in these men,

Writings as they would reject them for shame.

Englands new Chaine, second part, pag. 17, 18.

* Note, none called more upon the Parliament for Justice against the Earle of Cambridge, the Earle of Holland, the Lord Capell, then this partie, and acted more strongly for the accomplishment: and when it was don, to complie with the Malig-nants, and to imblitter their spirits, they say, it was don for no other end, but to make way for their absolute Dominion.

Englands new Chaine, second part, pag. 17.

* We meane the Cavaliers. If the Reader desire to see this to the life, let him observe their Booke, entitu-

1. These give occasion here, of verifying that Proverb; *a lye bath need of a good memory*. The Parliaments proceeding with the King, is one thing against which *they doe protest*; and yet in this place doe blame others for declining it: thus the thing which in themselves is a vertue and good, the very same in another is a vice, and a fault: So that they are not in practice like a Ship in the midst of the Sea, but rather run like Cart-wheels, easily to be followed by the foule tracks of * contradiction, falshood, and hypocrisie.

2. They are here at their old game, to make division between the Parliament, and the Councell of State: you have heard before, how they have been every where else, and something they must doe likewise here; for nothing is more grievous to them, then to see an accord and union between our Rulers. Neither doe they regard to play the hypocrites before the world, so they may thereby raise contention. But the truth is, their wiles and wayes now are so palpably grosse, as there is little feare that any hereafter will be deceived by them, unlesse it be some of their own faction; or * such as seeke to take advantage by their treachery to bring to passe their own designs.

But 3. there are none of the Lords House, neither of the House of Commons, Members of the Councell of State, which did any thing in relation to the Treatie, or declined that last proceeding, but doe rest satisfied in what is don, are reall, cordiall, and true to the Land, and cloze unanimously with the rest for common good: and therefore their scrupling formerly of some things, doth no way disable them from the present service of the State; especially having been approved men, knowne to be faithfull, and of right and good Principles. Indeed had they been Level-lers, restlesse and treacherous, and sowers of sedition, there had been just cause of exception against them: but being men altogether of another spirit, peaceable, and Peace-makers, it was well they were chosen; for no doubt (through Gods blessing on their labour) much profit and comfort will follow.

5. They except against such as were Judges in the Star-chamber, and approvers of the bloody and tyrannicall sentences issuing from thence.

Ans^r. We shewed just now, that it is ^d all one to these men, whe-

whether there be something, or nothing in their Writings: for to a simplician, a superficial and shallow Reader, there is no difference or distinction made: sense or non-sense, reason or rayling, all is alike. Can there be imagined, an exception, more light, irrationall, groundlesse: For what if a man had been a member of the *High Commission Court*, or of the Popes *Conclave*, this could not be any just barre, whereby he should be disabled from any future office, place, or imployment, if nothing else did appeare, and the person otherwise in every respect fitted and qualified for the worke.

Thus we have answered their *Exceptions*, and vindicated the *Councell* from their *Calumniation*s. One thing yet remaines, which concernes their Booke, Entituled, *The Picture of the Councell of State*. Here is a fit place to discover the vanitie and folly of it, especially so farre as the *Councell of State* is any way concerned in it.

And here in the first place we shall desire the Reader to take notice, of the originall and moving cause, wherefore the *State* apprehended them.

Not onely had these men a long time, to the certain knowledge of the *Councell of Warre*, attempted by severall wayes to make division in the *Armie*, and likewise by the *Parliament* were look'd upon (and that for many reasons) to be great Incendiaries, men most dangerous and seditious: but withall had made a trayterous Booke, and spread it abroad, and sought to draw others into the Conspiracy with them; clearly tending to the losse of *Ireland*, and the utter ruine of this Nation by a new warre. This being known, and the great perill and mischief apprehended, the *Parliament* thereupon (as fit they should, and high time it was) gave Commission and Order unto the *Councell of State* for the apprehending and securing of these mutineers. The *Councell* accordingly appointed some Officers of the *Armie* to see the *Parliament*s command executed: and because it was well known, that there were some seditious people in and about the *Citie*, confederates with them, and ready to make any hurli-burlic and commotion: it was thought the best and safest way to prevent tumult, and other inconveniences, to apprehend them in the night; the which being done, and the persons

brought

led, *The picture of the Councell of State*; Wherein they have blotted foure sheets, & published two Editions, and not one word from first to last which comes neere the matter to which they should have spoken: and so much we shall manifest presently.

*We have formerly in part manifested so much, to wch shortly a more full and large Discovery shall be added of their trayterous designs to breake the *Armie*.

† *Panarii irrogatio tam est conservanda Reip: necessaria, quam est corporibus Chirurgorum sectio & uestio quarum utilitas maxima, cum pluri-ma sint ad exemplum pertinet, ut alii a facinoribus deterrantur.*

Keck. Pol. l. i.

brought before the *Councell*, it was there shewed them by the Lord *President*, by what *Authoritie* they were sent for, and the reason why: Unto which their Answer was required: And thus much in briebe for the occasion.

* It is published by themselves, that the *L. President* did not aske them any questions as in way of tryall, so as to proceed in Judgment, but to report it to the House: In which words (howbeit, but few) there was enough said to justify the *Councell*, and to shew their ignorance, that they should not observe them, as to speake something thereto. *Ego de aliis loquor, tu respondes de ceptis.*

* Note, that there was nothing don by the *Councell* of State against those men, in reference to their own jurisdiction & power, but as they were the *Parliaments* Com-

Now for their Answer, if it be observed, either what they spake to the *Councell*, or is contained in their additions since, with the many quotations of Statutes and marginall notes; it amounts to just nothing; for first in pag. 3, 4. there is onely a frivolous relation, as when, and how they were apprehended, and by whom, from pag. 5. to 17. Whatsoever carries any shew of something, it is thus, and nothing else: *Wee are Englishmen, and so in a legall capacitie to claim the utmost punctilio, benefit, and priviledge, that the Lawes and liberties of England will afford to any man in the whole Nation. Wee know not what to make more of you, then a company of private men, being neither able to own you for a Court of Justice, because the Law speakes nothing of you. Againe, The people of this Nation have not be trusted the Parliament with a Law-executing power.*

This is the most, and all, in all their tedious and long Discourse, which looks like something, the rest is either rayling at others, or boasting of themselves. But is there one word in all this to the cause in hand? Is it not *Ignorantia Elenchi*? and as the Proverb is, *One askes for Garlick, and the other speakes of Onions.*

For 1. Let it be granted, they are *Englishmen*, and so may claime the liberties and priviledges of the Law: yet it doth not follow, but for Conspiracy and Treason against the State, they lawfully may be apprehended. Againe, say the *Parliament* be not intrusted with a Law-executing power: yet no man will deny, but the supream Authoritie of this Nation, are intrusted with a Law-making power; that is, they may * designe and appoint whomsoever they thinke best and fittest to apprehend such men whom they understand to be making sedition and raising warre in the Land, to the end they may be brought forth to tryall, according to the known Law provided in that case. But here they are silent, and no wonder, for indeed a plaine relation of the thing as it stood, had been enough to prove their apprehension, examination, and commitment, all to be legall: But their manner is, what is cleare, to darken with a heap of confused words,

words, or omitting the matter unto which they should directly speak, to run away with some impertinent and by-thing.

There is no other thing that we know charged upon the *Councell of State*, as for the slanders, falshoods and treason set forth in that book, we shall very shortly come to the *discoverie* thereof: with the rest of their conspiracies and seditious in their other Papers. At this time it shall suffice that we have wip'd off all their calumniationes and reproaches against the Honorable and great Councell of this Nation.

The next place unto which they bring us, is the *Councell of Warre*: and here we finde their *main bodie*, and the great ordinances planted, of untruth, treacherie, contradiction, sedition, and what not? In the first part of their *new chain* there is very little, comparatively, to what is published in the second part. We purpose (if God will) in our *Discoverie*, to go thorough both, that so the Nation may the better see and judge what a generation of men they are.

First then of the Councell of War, this they say: by their means *i after these fair blossomes of hopesfull liberty, breaks forth this bitter fruit of the vilest and basest bondage, that ever English-men groaned under.*

Answe: 1. We may see in these men what ^k an hard thing it is, to leave a bad custome: when it is to plead for mutinous Souldiers, and to encourage them in their refractorie and seditious courses, then we shall hear them speak of good dayes, ^l *Times of peace, all Courts of Justice are open.* But if it be to reproach the Army, they can make their tongues to say quite contrary, nothing then but *bondage*; yea, *the vilest and basest that ever English-men groaned under*: not regarding what hypocritie they shew by their grosse contradiction, so they may do some mischief one way or other.

2. There is a Letter extant of *Lilburnes*, wherein he expresseth himself to his Excellencie thus: ** Truly (Sir) give me leave to tell you without fear or dread, had I come, and could have got so many to have followed me, as would have enabled me with my sword in my hand, to have done justice and execution, upon those grand treacherous fellows, and tyrants at Westminster, that have not onely*

missioners, and had command & order from them to act so and so: and therefore that which the Councell did herein was no more but what any other men in the like case might & ought to have done.

For the *Parliament*, without dispute, can impower and authorize any man or men to apprehend and examine traytors, and finding cause, by the said delegated power to commit them, that they may be tryed afterwards according to Law.

^l *Englands new Chaine, pag. 9.*

^k *Vincere consuetudinem, dura est pugna.*

Aug: super Psal. 30.

^l In their Letter to his Excellencie, April 27. 1645.

^{*} Juglers discovered.

^m The picture of the Councell of State, p. 17.

ⁿ Englands new Chaine, second part, pag. 17.

^o An Alarum to the House of Lords in the Title page he styles himselfe so.

* *Q^a*: Seeing he will assume some kingly Title to himselfe, whether there be not more reason that he should take it from John of Leiden then from the Pope.

^a Englands new Chaine, p. 8, 9.

* Note how they say not a Generall Councell of Warre, but a meeting of Officers: So that there are three Courts w^h they deny, and say they are unlawfull, viz. the Parliament, Councell of State, and the Councell of Warre.

† They meane such as take their part in conspiracie against the Commonwealth.

tyrannized over me, but the whole Nation; I should have made no more scruple of conscience with my own hand to have destroyed them, then to have destroyed so many weasels or poulcats.

If he would then have knockt down the Parliament-men like weasels and poulcats, what would he now do? seeing the Nation was never in the like bondage: neither ^m was the cruell Tyrant Duke D'Alva, or bloodie Queen Mary so bad as our Leaders: yea the ⁿ King is much more excusable then they, so Hollis, and that partie. Without question had he assistance enough, he would make no more scruple to destroy the Parliament, Councell of State, and the Councell of Warre, then if they were so many Rats or Mice: and having so done, the people could do no lesse then give him that Title which he hath in Print taken already to himself, ^o John Lilburne DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: and withall there might be added, John of Leiden's Title, * *Johannes Rex Novæ Hierosolymæ, Rex Justitiæ super universum orbem. John King of the new Jerusalem, King of Righteousnesse over the whole world.*

But wherein are we brought to the vilest and basest bondage that ever Englishmen groan'd under? Here we shall do them all the right we can, leave nothing out, which they have produced, and set down to prove the same. ^a At a meeting of ^{*} Officers, on Feb. 22. last at White-Hall, where after expressions of much bitterness against the most [†] consciencious part of the Souldiery and others, it was insisted upon (as we are from credible hands certainly informed) that a motion should be made to this House for the procurement of a law enabling them to put to death all such as they should judge by Petitions or otherwise to disturbe the present proceedings; and upon urging that the Civill Magistrate should do it, it was answered, That they could hang twenty ere the Magistrate one. It was likewise urged, that Orders might be given to seize upon the Petitioners, Souldiers, or others, at their meetings. A Proclamation was likewise appointed, forbidding Souldiers to petition you, or any but their Officers, prohibiting their correspondencies: And private Orders to be given out for seizing upon Citizens and Souldiers at their meetings.

Ans^w: 1. Seeing these things were brought to them but by report, it is beyond our apprehension how such a bondage can

can be sufficiently proved by *hear-say*. 2. At most (take their own relation which is false) the things were but onely insisted upon, and will that conclude *the vilest and basest bondage that ever?* &c. But 3. for reasoning sake, let it be granted, that such things were not onely insisted upon, but by the Parliament had been granted, and afterward put in execution; yet all this would not have amounted to *the vilest and basest bondage*: for the English, since they were a Nation, have many times groan'd under a greater bondage. But we need not follow them so exactly, for the truth is, they so much misdeed sedition and calumination, as they mind not what absurdities, contradictions and falsehoods may every where be observed, and noted in their words and writings.

But more particularly: here many things forged and false are heaped together: neither is there any one thing truly related by them. For, 1. It is an accusation grounded upon a lye, that any thing should be spoken about putting to death: and no lesse a ^b slander that any man should say, *they could hang twenty ere the Magistrate one*. We shall give the Reader here a just account of the thing as it was. Upon many complaints made by some Souldiers of severall wrongs done them in the Countrey, it was propounded, whether it were not expedient that some course might be thought of, for to prevent such miscarriages, specially seeing they had not means to follow the Law, neither could they do it, by reason of continuall dutie, and marching from place to place: besides, seeing the Souldier either made satisfaction, or was punished, if he offended: why should not the Souldier in some like speedie way be relieved? This was the whole businesse which they by the Rule of multiplication, call *putting to death*.

2. For such which they speak of, not of the Army, they are carefull to conceal both what was said, and why: In brief therefore thus: The Officers observing this partie to be continually labouring by their Adjutators to cause more division in the Army, besides the many former breaches which they had made, conceived it was necessarie that some speedie course and way should be taken, that themselves, the Army, and the whole Nation might not be undone, through
G 2 the

^b Reader, we have made a strict enquiry about this thing, and it is avowed, that there was not any such speech: what might be in secret they know not: but openly in the Court it is utterly denied.

* *Quem metu-
unt oderunt :
quem quisq; o-
dit, perisse ex-
petit. Cic. de
offic: 11.*

* The English
Souldiers Stan-
dard, pag. 5.

the conspiracie and sedition of a few restlesse and unquiet people, this they call *bondage*, and probablie to them it seems no lesse. For as a sore eye looks not without pain and grief on the Sun: so no doubt to them it is a *sore, a plague, a torment, an hell upon each to look on the Councell of War (we may adde the Parliament, and Councell of State) in the condition of safetie, peace, and honour, as then it was, and through Gods mercie is so still.

3. Touching seizing upon Citizens at their meetings, and *c* for a Law to have power in themselves to put to death any person not of the Army as shall hold any discourse with Souldiers about their own and the peoples just Rights and Liberties. To this there needs no further answer: onely this we shall adde, if the insolencies and bold attempts of some speciall Incendiaries, had been in time more lookt too, and suppressd, much miserie and mischief, which hath since fallen out, would have been prevented.

It is true the Commanders of the Army have not been without their fear: for they have fore-seen this rising in seditious and treacherous plots from time to time; but observe the notable craft of the *Levelling party*, whensoever they began to move in a way to suppress such things, they presently put an aspersion and *odium* upon them, as that the Army would rule all, take all power into their hands, hang up, and put to death all persons, &c. by which devise they went the surer and faster on with their wicked intentions, till it broke forth into this flame.

4. Forbidding Souldiers to petition: this also is false as they report it. The Proclamation is extant: wherein they are not prohibited, onely required whatsoever they do this way, to do it peaceably, and in order; that so whatsoever is just and honorable may be the sooner obtained, and all tumults and divisions amongst themselves the better avoided. Thus we have heard their Charge, and seen their proof: For judgement we shall leave that to the discreet Reader.

Another cause of their Complaint is, that *d* such Petitioners as have mov'd in the behalf of the people, have had their Petitions burnt by the common Hang-man. Likewise *c* for passing an Ordinance

* New chaine,
first part, p. 7.

* New chaine,
second part,
pag. 4.

nance for Tithes upon treble Damages.

Ans^r: It would seem something strange to hear a man charge the blood of *Naboth* upon *Eliab*, who was so far from committing the fact, as that he sharply rebuked *Ahab* for it. Where shall it be found, unlesse in these mens Papers, that an action never done by a man, nor consented to, shall nevertheless be put upon his reckoning, and others quitted? For the persons whom they do *accuse all along, naming a prevailing power of the Army, Lords and masters both of Parliament and people, such as have the highest Commands of Military Power, a faction of Officers, &c. they have not had an hand in the things whereof they accuse them: but as the burning of Rome was by Nero layed on the Christians, and the Gunpowder plot upon the Puritans by the Jesuites; so, and for the same end, that is, to have the guiltlesse condemned, they have spread abroad this horrible falshood: But in the mean time is not that rule usefull in reading their Papers? ^a Nothing believing, all heeding. We have read somewhere ^b of allowance given to lying, for the good of the Common-wealth: but these men use it another way, even thereby to destroy the Common-wealth, if possibly they can.

And howsoever we are sure, that things of this nature, will find little acceptance any where among people well affected; nevertheless whosoever shall peruse, and well observe all their writings over, shall find little else therein, but false aspersions raised up, without any ground or colour of truth: so that we may more truly say then the *Vindicator of Walwyns Wyles*, ^c They have indeed too exactly learnt *Machiavels* rule, to spare not, to scandalize and traduce their adversaries; for that though some of the dirt be wiped off, yet part of it will stick, and they shall be sure not altogether to loose their labours.

And for proof hereof, let these particulars (amongst many others the like, which might be mentioned) bear witness, where the aforesaid prevailing power of the Army are charged with the intollerable burthens of custome, conferring Offices upon their creatures and relations: donation of hundreds and thousands per Annum, betrayed their trust of Feoffees for Bishops and Delinquents Lands, purchased themselves great Estates; thirst after the blood.

* Note how to make division in the Parliament, and to have our present Governours despisable in the eyes of the Nation, they alwayes accuse some particular men, as if the rest were onely their creatures, and had neither judgement, honestie, or conscience.

^a *Nihil credendo, atque omnia cavendo. Cic. Orat. Post. redd. in sen.*

^b *Licere Viro. bono Reipub: Causa, Memiri. Plato.*

^c The charitie of Churchmen, pag. 3.

* In this little there is enough said to vindicate L: Gen: Cromwell from all Lilburnes Aspersions first and last: for suppose there had been credible people and witnesses for attestation, yet it is evident the things were drawn up by the hand of envie, & so by their own rule deservedly to be sleighted: But seeing it is not onely done by a malicious enemy, but he brings no credible people, or witnesses for attestation: Our enemies then being Judges of what credit is his testimony in matters of obloquy & reproach, tending to the disparagement of another?

blood of such Souldiers and people as are of action for common freedom and safetie, enslaved the Common-wealth, to their ambition, lust, covetousnesse, and domination, discourse that the power must be reduced to one, are without any remorse at the dearness of food, and utter losse of Trade; brought a new and dangerous Warre upon the Nation; taken away mens lives for no other end but to make way for an absolute domination; brought the Land into a more dangerous condition then they found it. All which things are known not onely to be false, but matters for the most part wherein they never had to do; and for the rest, such things as they altogether and every way have acted to the contrary.

And no lesse untrue is the thing (as by them reported) concerning some passages in relation to the King: so likewise for Coll: Rainsborough, Coll: Ayres, Major Cobbet, Captain Bray, William Thomson, Lieu: Coll: Hen: Lilburne, &c. they are all false and forged things as they relate them. When it is their own case to be accused by others, and their Accusers say they have credible people that heard the same, and will attest it, note their way of clearing: of what credit, pray, is the testimony of an Enemy, in matters of obloquy and reproach, tending to the disparagement of another. Mr. Edwards had witnesses for attestation of many strange matters he reported of pious and honest people, and yet how deservedly were his slanders slighted, upon this ground, that men of different spirits do very familiarly hear with too open ears, and report with such additions as their spleen and disaffection suggests against him they maligne: And as Mr. Goodwin well expresses himself in his Answer to Mr. Edwards Gangreen. There is no reasonable man but will abate and deduct, and that to a good proportion, from such reckonings and accounts which are drawn up, and given in to him by the hand of envie. Is this a *reasonable Plea, to vindicate a man against whom accusations can be proved by credible people, and there are witnesses for attestation? it will then much more hold good here, where the accusations are not onely from enemies, and men most malicious, but also no credible people, no witnesses for attestation, but such things as their spleen and disaffection suggests against those they maligne.

There are many other accusations of this nature, brought against

against the Councell of War, and Commanders of the Army; of all which we shall speak in our next *Discoverie*, and about *Promises and Engagements* made at *New Market*, *Triploe* *beath* with the **Agitators*, a thing much spoken of: At this time we shall onely touch one thing more, which is, that they would have the Parliament consider how dangerous it is for one and the same persons to be continued long in the highest Commands of Military power, especially acting so long, distinct, and of themselves, as those now in being have done, and such extraordinary wayes, whereunto they have accustomed themselves, which was the originall of most Regalities and Tyrannies in the world.

Ans: 1. How oft soever in other things they contradict themselves, yet in these particulars we never find them *changlings*: As, 1. in making division, and seeking to set difference and strife between the Parliament and the chief Commanders of the Army. 2. In raising jealousies, and to have such suspected whom they would have taken out of the way, as that they will degenerate into Tyrants, &c. when there is no ground at all for any such insinuation. 3. In every thing which they speak of, and would have to be done, there is some mischief still intended against the safetie and good of the Nation, let it fall under what pretence soever of justnesse, fitnesse, providence, &c.

But 2ly, was not the motion reasonable and considerable, yea and very seasonable for them to have had it so? For the wicked plot of this present Rebellion was then in consultation, and they could not but see how dangerous it was for one and the same persons to be continued long in the highest Commands of a Military Power: But wherefore dangerous? because having ripened and heightned the Souldiers to revolt from their obedience, there were none so likely to break this designe, and under God to preserve the Nation from that bloodie and cruell faction. And therefore they might well say, how dangerous is it for such persons to be continued long? &c.

Now for conclusion, and to their glorying and boasting that their cause and principles get ground: so that where there was one, twelve months since, that owned their principles, they beleeve there are now hundreds. Howsoever we take not this for a truth,

*It is well observed by Mr. Hen. Den, that seeing most of the Regiments of horse and foot did Petition his Excellency to send back their Agitators to their respective Regiments, and according to their Petitions the Councell of Agitators was dissolved: that his Excellency cannot be charged with violation of that Engagement: neither doth there remaine any obligation on his Excellency to have continued or revived any such Councell. Much lesse is it warrantable in the Souldiery of the Army to assume that power to themselves, seeing they suffered a dissolution by the same power, by which they had their constitution. The Levellers designe, p. 4, 5.

* When they had laid such a foundation of lyes and falsehood (wherein they have not been inferior, if not beyond those enemies we had last to deal with) and had thereby occasioned so many of Com-missary-Generall Iretons and Col. Scroops Regiments to re-

volt, and cast off their Officers (an Act not to be paralleld) and that their businesse began to grow to a head, they sent their Emisaries and Agitators to all parts (as we have good intelligence) pretending from one Regiment to another, that each Regiment had declared, that so by that Artifice they might draw each to declare. To the forces in *Wales* and the *West* they gave assurances that the forces about *London* would revolt, and to those about *London*, that those in *Wales* and the *West* would do the same. And to the forces in the *North* used they the like arguments, and nourished also the distemper of the forces in the *South*. A Declaration of the proceedings of his Excellencie, pag 6.

truth, but to be another device of theirs, to blowe up the sparkles of Rebellion, (and for example we refer the Reader to the * margin:) neverthelesse it were no marvell though many (otherwise well-minded people) should be deceived by such *evill workers*, who have carried on the most dangerous and destructive designs against this Nation that ever were known, and under the vizard and cloak of setting the Common-wealth upon just grounds of freedome, liberty, and safetie. But we are confident wheresoever this DISCOVERER shall come, with the rest following, that the number in all places will abate, and the honest minded every where will see their error, and mistake; and blesse God that the snare is broken, and their souls like birds are escaped.

The end of the first part.

F I N I S.

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